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Terrorism: Local Government Response

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By

Richard T. Boswell

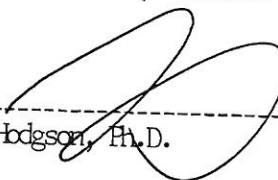
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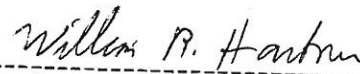
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Every community in America has the potential to be the target of a terrorist attack. When this attack occurs it is the responsibility of local government agencies to combat the problem. These agencies lack many of the resources needed to successfully deal with these types of attacks. Furthermore, many local governments are under the illusion that the federal government and all of its resources will quickly arrive and assume control of the operation.

Every act of terrorism is local in nature. It occurs in some jurisdiction's backyard. Most localities view terrorism as something that happens overseas, or a problem for the federal government. They say "it won't happen here." Destruction seen on the scale of the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City are becoming the desired goal of most terrorist organizations. Local jurisdictions must accept the fact that a terrorist attack can occur anytime, anywhere, and anyplace. They must equip and prepare their emergency responders for this inevitability. With the current trend in terrorist attacks being fewer large scale attacks, no one government agency can successfully deal with the attack. (On The Inside/ABC News, 1999) Combating terrorism requires a multi-agency, multi-jurisdictional approach. All levels of government, local, state, and federal must be utilized to combat this threat.

The 1993 World Trade Center bombing proved that terrorists can strike Americans on their own soil. The 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in

Oklahoma City further proved that any community can be targeted. America views terrorism as something that happens to someone else, not in their back yard. Local agencies believe that terrorism is something for the state to deal with, and the state agencies assume it will be handled by the FBI. They are both wrong. It is something that every level of government must be prepared handle.

Government agencies are aware of the problem but most acknowledge that due to government downsizing they do not have the budget to adequately train their personnel or buy the equipment necessary to effectively prepare for such an endeavor. Most city planners believe that they are prepared and look to state and federal agencies to provide additional assets. Emergency preparedness experts say that the arrival of supplies and personnel from the state and federal level may be so delayed that they might prove ineffectual. (Staten, 1991)

County and state leaders think that only the metropolitan centers are the likely targets of terrorism. All these formerly held ideas about terrorism were shattered when 168 people were killed in the Oklahoma City explosion. As a result of Oklahoma City state and local public safety perspectives concerning domestic terrorism and the need for effective antiterrorism efforts changed forever. (Bodreno, 1999) A National Institute of Justice study confirmed that state and local law enforcement agencies believe the threat of terrorism is real, but the size and resources of the department determines how they view the threat. The smaller the community the less they view the threat. (Bodrero, 1999)

Despite these facts local government leaders agree that the need to plan for the possibility of a terrorist attack remains strong. These governments need to create a

domestic terrorism plan at the state and local level. Through these plans administrators can respond more effectively and prevent possible incidents from occurring. Local government leaders must understand that the federal government does have an array of resources at their disposal.

The United States is vulnerable to terrorism. Foreign nationals and its own citizens have found America vulnerable. These attacks on Americans in their own communities are only going to continue. These communities offer everything the terrorist needs to thrive. Terrorism expert agrees that the problem is only getting worse. According to the FBI in 1995 there was one terrorist incident and one suspected terrorist incident. That same year the FBI successfully averted two terrorists incidents. In 1996 there were three terrorist incidents, but the Bureau thwarted five incidents. In 1997 there were two documented incidents and two suspected incidents, however the FBI prevented twenty incidents of terrorism. In the last year that data was available, 1998, there were five documented incidents of terrorism. Fifteen acts of terrorism were prevented. (FBI, Terrorism in the United States 1998, 1999) These experts predict not only a continued increase in the number of incidents, but that the tactics are becoming more deadly and more difficult to defend against.

Terrorism is not something that affects other people. It is not something that just happens overseas, it can happen anywhere. If law enforcement and others in local government have a better understanding of the issues surrounding terrorism, and if we know who the terrorists are, and what their motivations are, we as a society can more effectively combat the problem. America's public safety providers will be the first to

respond to a terrorist attack. It is important that they have an understanding of terrorism so they can combat this threat.

Terrorism means different things to different people. There is no one all encompassing definition of this complicated problem. The first goals of this thesis is to provide several definitions of terrorism. These definitions are derived from both scholarly, and legal sources. Through these definitions the reader will develop a better understanding of terrorism and its complexities.

Why terrorists commit the acts will be the second issue discussed. Society has alienated certain members of our society. Because of the feeling of alienation terrorists believe the only way their opinions will be heard is through acts of violence. Numerous theories exist which attempt to explain this feeling of alienation. By reviewing the literature of modern terrorism theories, an understand of the motivations for terrorism can be described. These theories will provide the reader with modern and historical perspective of terrorism.

The third area to be discussed is the terrorist movement. There are hundreds of small anti-government protesters who feel betrayed by the government. These relatively small groups can be perceived as part of a larger movement. The ideologies and philosophies of these movements will be reviewed. Why these movements pose a threat to the safety of American society will also be discussed. Numerous recommendations on how to curb this threat will be provided.

The fourth area to be discussed is the response of public safety providers when an incident occurs. The tactics, resources, and policies of these providers will be discussed in

detail. The types of attacks these providers are most likely to face will also be discussed. Preparing for, and combating, a terrorist attack is a difficult challenge. The terrorists have many of the advantages. They know when and where they are going to strike. It is up to the public safety providers to guess and prepare for something they hope will never happen.

The United States has gone to great lengths to protect itself from the threat of terrorism. Numerous policies have been handed down from congress and the president to help curb the threat of a terrorist attack. These policies and recommendations will be evaluated. Past experience and technology have offered public safety providers numerous resources in the war on terrorism. The resources of the federal government will be reviewed. While it is impossible to prevent every act of terrorism, public safety providers have a multitude of resources available to them. It is their hope that these resources will swing the pendulum of advantage in their favor.

America's public safety providers face the difficult challenges of defending their communities against the threat of terrorism. Combating this threat is not the responsibility of any one government agency. Terrorism has the potential to affect everyone in society. Because of this potential it should be the responsibility of every level of government to protect the citizens they are entrusted to serve.

Methodology

The design of this thesis was to review the subject of local government's response to terrorism. Therefore, in order to research this subject a through literature review had to

be done. This included reviewing information from public safety manuals, and emergency preparedness plans. The research further included reviewing information on all types on government capabilities, to include their specific procedures in the event of a terrorist attack.

Other resources included information on terrorism from a historical prospective, as well as literature from many experts in the field. A survey was also completed. The survey was conducted in the Bedford County Virginia area. It was distributed to members of the counties public safety providers and was designed to measure their perceived terrorism preparedness. Due to a problem of small sample size no definitive conclusions can be drawn from the survey.

CHAPTER 2: Definitions and Causes of Terrorism

Overview

In order to analyze terrorism, it must be operationally defined. Due to the complexities of the subject no one definition is adequate, so numerous definitions will be explained. Following this will be a review of the causes of terrorism. Terrorist acts are committed for a variety of reasons. They are as diverse as the terrorists themselves. Finally, terrorism will be analyzed from a historical perspective. Several theorists will offer their ideas of crime and political violence as it would apply to terrorism. It is not the design of this thesis to discuss in detail these theories only to give the reader a basic understanding of the historical views on terrorism.

Terrorism Defined

The first issue when trying to understand terrorism is to define the subject. Terrorism evokes such strong emotional responses that it is impossible to attach one definition to it. Everyone views terrorism differently. Although no one definition can define terrorism, everyone knows what terrorism is when they see it. Brian Jenkins, a leading terrorism expert with the Rand corporation, defines terrorism as the use or threatened use of force to bring about a political change. Walter Laqueur, co-chairman international research council, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and author of numerous books on the subject, defines terrorism as the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted. (White, 1991)

Terrorism is violence, but not every form of violence is terrorism. Terrorism is not synonymous with civil war, or guerrilla warfare, or even revolution. These terms can have positive connotations. Terrorism on the other hand does not. (Laqueur, 1999)

From a legal stand point the FBI defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in the furtherance of political or social objectives. (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85)

In accordance with U.S. counterterrorism policy, the FBI considers terrorists to be criminals. Although these are numerous Executive Orders, Presidential Directives, and congressional statutes on terrorism, there is no single federal law that specifically makes terrorism a crime. (FBI, Terrorism in the U.S., 1998, 1999)

The FBI divides terrorist activities into three categories. The first is a terrorist incident. This is considered a violent act that is dangerous to human life, in violation of the criminal laws of the U.S., or of any state, to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof. The second category is a suspected terrorist incident. This is considered a potential act of terrorism to which responsibility cannot be attributed at the time to a known or suspected terrorist group or individual. The last category is terrorism prevention. This is considered a documented instance in which a violent act by a known or suspected terrorist group or individual with the means and a proven propensity for violence is successfully interdicted through investigative activities. (FBI, Terrorism in the U.S., 1998, 1999)

The word terrorism is being used more and more to describe events that a few

years ago would have been called something else. Many people think Columbine was an act of terrorism. Many others say it was just a mass shooting. If a man shoots ten people in a shopping center because he wants America to suffer for the abuses it has caused his homeland, it is called terrorism. If that same man does it because his wife just left him and took his children, it is called a domestic incident. If he does it because the shopping center just fired him, it is called work place violence.

The government, along with the police and military, attempt to combat terrorism in legal terms through laws and code sections. Legal definitions do not take into account the social and political problems which can lead to terrorism. All terrorist activities are different and require a broader scope in order to understand them. Grouping terrorist activities into specific categories will allow the acts to be better understood. Terrorism can encompass everything from the individual suicide bomber to the highly organized activities of state-sponsored terrorism.

Every terrorist act is different, but the tactics used are similar. According to Brian Jenkins all terrorists incidents include one of the following elements, ambush, arson, bombing, hijacking, hostage taking, and kidnaping. (White, 1991) Terrorist attacks will employ at least one of these methods. Bombing remains the most common type of attack and automatic and semiautomatic rifles and pistols are the weapons of choice. (Sloan, 1991)

The individuals and governments who are tasked to combat terrorism have a much different outlook than the individuals who commit the terrorist acts. Even though these two groups have different ideological outlooks, they both know what their respective roles

are. Jonathan White, an authority on terrorism, and the author of several books on the subject argues that being labeled a terrorist brings with it connotations that have ambidextrous meanings. A second argument by White says that being labeled a terrorist gives validity to your cause. These once obscure groups have suddenly become visible and validated by the government. (White, 1991) Despite these difficulties terrorism has its specific roles and those who play the game know which end of the spectrum they occupy.

Scholars, analyst, and governments believe that they need to have a clear understanding of an issue before they can comprehend it. Because of terrorism's many different meanings, it is more important to understand terrorists activities in terms of the reasons behind terrorism. All terrorist activities are different and require a broader scope in order to understand them. Grouping terrorist activities into specific models may allow the acts to be better understood. Typologies help to better catagorize these specific types. The specific types of terrorism that the typologies create can then be used to determine what the individual problems are. Once the causes are understood, a solution can be formulated and a plan of action can be undertaken to solve the problem. Typologies are not a substitute for a definition, but in cases when a definition is difficult to agree upon typologies can be used to better understand the problem.

Two of these typologies are criminal and political terrorism. Criminal terrorism is easier to understand and is less controversial. Most of these acts are committed for personal satisfaction or profit. Criminal terrorism is a low level form of political terror. This has been the case with the majority of terrorist acts committed domestically. With the public's growing distrust of the government and the government's zeal to maintain its

control, future domestic acts may redefine the current trend of terrorism in the U.S.

Political terrorism is much more controversial and can be divided into numerous sub categories. Political terrorism is not a new concept in American culture. The American Revolution used terrorists tactics. British Loyalists were tarred and feathered, branded, imprisoned, and on occasion shot. (Hofstadler, Wallace, 1970) The anti-abolition riots of July 1834 in New York is another example of political terrorism. In the riots crowds destroyed homes, churches, and the business of anyone who did not show support to their cause. (Hofstadler, Wallace, 1970)

The state, or a sovereign nation, can use terrorism in many ways. These include everything from the state's use of power to force its citizens into obedience, to the state directly training and funding terrorists who will act in the state's interest in ways which the state cannot. (White, 1991) One example of the state using its power to control the people is the Haymarket strike of 1886. In this strike the city of Chicago used the police to break up striking workers at the McCormick Harvester Plant. (Hofstadler, Wallace, 1970) Libya has long been a country that supports and funds terrorists. On several occasions Qaddafi has used his terrorists to attack targets that could not have been attacked through legitimate military means. The bombing of Pam Am flight 103 had Libyan links, as well as the grenade attack on U.S. military personnel in a West German night club. That attack caused President Reagan to launch an attack on Libya which directly targeted Qaddafi's terrorist training camps and his residence

Causes of Terrorism

Acts of terror are committed for a multitude of reasons. Every time a terrorist commits an act of violence they do it for a specific reason. In order to better understand why terrorists commit acts of violence, an understanding of the basic theories of crime is necessary. Terrorism is crime taken to the most extreme. You also need to have a theoretical understanding of why terrorists commit the acts they do.

Terrorism is a response to a perceived sense of injustice. The only means to reduce or eliminate terrorism is to reduce the grievances, stresses, and frustrations that the terrorists feel. They are believers who are driven to despair by intolerable conditions. Their decisions and acts are inspired by their ideologies. Terrorism has always been justified as a means of resisting despotism, and its origins can be found in antiquity. (Laqueur, 1977)

Terrorists have traditionally had very distinct motives and ideologies. These include economic and social violence, assassinations, and political murder. Terrorism was usually committed by individuals who felt the only way to affect political or social change was through acts of terror. (Laqueur, 1999)

Political murder can be considered one of the earliest form of terrorism. (Laqueur, 1999) These activities can be traced back to the earliest records of mankind. The Bible is full of these accounts. Thucydides in his account of the Peloponnesian war gives numerous examples of murder for a political gain. Seneca noted that there is no greater sacrifice to the Gods than the blood of a tyrant. Cicero agreed by saying tyrants always attracted a violent end. (Laqueur, 1999)

Terrorists use violence to cause a political change. This is usually directed toward a government, or less frequently toward a class or group. Their ends may vary from their specific grievances. They mean to effect political change by taking over the political or social power, or to liberate a country from unfavorable rule. Terrorists seek to cause political economic, and social change. To cause this change terrorists will use any and all means necessary, including acts of horrific violence and murder.

The terrorists movement has consisted of individuals who are usually from the middle class, or above. These people feel uprooted or rejected by those who hold the reigns of power. They commit terrorists acts because they believe they do not have a legitimate voice in the political or social process. They maintain the government will not hear their grievances unless they can prove they have might. This might usually expresses itself in the form of attacks against the government power. By committing these acts, the terrorist feels they can affect change through non-traditional means. (Laqueur, 1991)

Terrorists believe that due to their limited resources in society they have few choices other than committing acts of terrorism. Most dissenters are not terrorists, they believe their ideologies will one day be included in society. The ones who do create a problem are the very small minority who have chosen to participate in acts of violence allegedly in the furtherance of their causes, regardless of whether or not it contradicts their beliefs. (Staten, 1998)

Terrorists see themselves oppressed by the government they lash out against. They view the government as oppressive and not open to their causes. They see them as authoritarian, and they see themselves as revolutionaries. In the U.S. any action on the

part of the state, which reduces citizens perceived civil liberties is considered an attack on their rights.

This is true on an international scale as well. The world sees the U.S. as the most powerful nation on earth. Many also believe that the U.S. sees itself as the leader in a hegemonic world order, and that it can project its will onto others. Terrorists lash out at these types of elitist attitudes because they see themselves as revolutionaries searching for their idea of democracy and equality. This terrorist mind set grew out of the need for the citizens to control the action of the government and a passion for justice. (White, 1991)

Modern society has changed the face of terrorism. Prior to the 1960s terrorism was primarily a revolutionary tool. Targets were selected for maximum damage to the political structure, not necessarily inflicting damage to the citizenry or to those who controlled the government. Terrorism was committed openly so the victims of the violence would know who perpetrated the acts. This openness allowed the government to see who felt oppressed and knew what their ideologies were.

Anonymous acts do not benefit terrorists. They do not focus media attention on the responsible group. Modern terrorists rely heavily on the news media to broadcast images of the destruction throughout the world. Many times following a terrorist attack the media knows who is responsible before the investigating authorities. (Masland, 1995) Terrorists now target civilians because death and destruction are covered vigorously by the news media, and terrorists use it to their advantage.

Revolutionary groups feel they have no choice but to resort to terror. It is the only method that a small force of weak revolutionaries can use to attack a much larger superior

force. Because they cannot attack the governmental structure itself, they resort to attacking civilian and industrial sites. Terrorism is the only tactical option they have available to them. It is a military convenience. (White, 1991)

Terrorism has different effects on different societies. What is viewed as a horrific terrorist attack in one society might be viewed a heroic act in another. A recent example of this is the bombing of the U.S.S. Cole in Aden. Based on early reports at least two individuals piloted a small boat filled with explosives up to the U.S.S. Cole and detonated the explosives. This attack sent shock waves of disbelief across the United States, while in some circles the suicide bombers are viewed as heroes. The anti-American ideals of certain groups in the Arab world preaches intolerance of America. Some religious leaders teach that dying in the service of Allah is the greatest form of devotion, and assures the follower eternal paradise. (Bodansky, 1993)

Many times men do the greatest harm to their society with the best intentions in mind, and when they intend to inflict the greatest harm they do the most good. (Vold, 1998) This may be the case with terrorism. Terrorists believe the death and carnage they inflict will ultimately result in a peaceful solution which will incorporate their ideologies into society. Terrorists hope that the harm they inflict on society will bring about a greater good. (White, Bernard, Snipes, 1998)

Crime is inherent in all societies. It is those who choose to engage in the elements of crime that cause society harm. Societies as a whole does not commit crime, the individuals in the societies commit the crimes. The same is true for terrorism. They understand that their acts counter the norms of society, but they do not see themselves as

criminal. They see themselves as revolutionaries and lash out at the government.

According to Lenin terrorists have a place in society. The terrorists are willing to sacrifice themselves in the struggle of the working class. The terrorist yields to the spontaneity of the angered intellectuals who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working class movement. Lenin argues that terrorism is the only outlet for the working classes' anger and revolutionary energy. This is due to the fact that they have lost the ability to achieve results in any other way. (Lenin, 1969) In return for revolting against the authoritarian government for the good of society, they are labeled terrorists.

The government which labels certain elements of society as terrorists further alienates the element from the social mainstream. If the state labels a group as terrorist the group has no legitimate means of expressing its ideologies. According to Richard Quinney, crime or terrorism is defined as behavior that conflicts with the interests of the segment of society that has the power to shape public policy. These definitions are applied by the segment of society that has the power to enforce and administer criminal laws. When this occurs, their only means of voicing opposition is through acts of terrorism. If the agents of the larger society define a particular act as terrorism then the group which perpetuates the act will be considered terrorists. (Quinney, 1970)

The government determines what is criminal, and draft laws which condone their actions and punish the terrorist. Terrorists believe that their actions against the government must be more violent than the government's actions toward them. In the battle between terrorists and the government violence begets violence, and the most

violent usually loses.

Terrorists lash out against society because they do not feel they have an alternative. Society lashes out against terrorists because they must maintain order. This relationship, in essence, pits the two against each other. In order for one side to gain the advantage over the other, they must constantly up the ante. Brian Jenkins argues that society will tolerate an occasional bombing, but will not tolerate destruction seen on the scale of recent highly publicized incidents. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999) If the battle between the terrorists and the government continues, one or the other will be forced to attack using this type of destructive force. If that happens society will not tolerate the end results, from either the terrorists or the government.

Terrorists operate best in a free society. Former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft believes that terrorism, once it occurs, is difficult to control. Terrorist cells require few people, and the materials necessary for carrying out their objectives are readily available. Countering terrorism is expensive in dollars and in civil liberties. (Masland, 1995) The right-wing militia movement in America is made up of hundreds of small cells each consisting of fewer than a couple dozen members. These small cells have been responsible for many acts of terrorism. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000) The bomb that destroyed the federal building in Oklahoma City was built and detonated by just two individuals.

Terrorists require freedom and mobility in order to organize and attack their targets effectively. The same civil liberties that most Americans take for granted, terrorists count on. Walter Laqueur argues that those societies with the most freedoms

provide terrorists with the opportunity to maneuver and the ability to select targets and organize at will. A repressive government can more easily monitor and control the activities of terrorists. Democracy is the best friend of terrorism, and repression its worst enemy. (White, 1991) Frantz Fanon, an authority on revolution and terrorism, believes that terrorism is a natural extension of revolution. When oppressed people realize that their only option is revolution, terrorism will result. (Fanon, 1962)

Terrorists use the civil liberties a democratic nation gives them to their advantage. America has become a fertile ground for terrorist activities. Terrorists are discovering that criminal activity can finance their causes. With this new found financial independence they have the ability to purchase a formidable arsenal of weapons, as well as the power to corrupt local authorities. With these capabilities they can carry out acts of violence not yet experienced in the U.S. (Sloan, 1999)

In order to commit the acts which terrorists commit they must justify those acts. The more violent and deadly the more justification is required. If a terrorist questions his actions, he cannot operate effectively. Terrorists need the same peer approval that others do. Terrorists do not rely on the same social norms that society does for peer approval. They rely on each other. They rely on constant contact with like-minded individuals to reinforce their ideologies. Most terrorists organizations are very close-knit. They do not have contact with people who do not fully support their cause. The arguments of Albert K. Cohen in his book *Delinquent Boys*, are similar. Delinquency is a gang member's response to problems of status and self respect. Being in the gang, not unlike the terrorist organization, provides moral reassurance. Membership provides support to its followers.

Through these means the gang can justify the use of hostility and aggression against those in society who are seen as the source of their frustration. (Binder, Geis, Bruce, 1997)

People who live in a violent subculture, such as terrorist, value honor highly. They also tend to devalue human life. Terrorists commit their acts based on the premise that they are acting in a moral, political, or ethical right. Many are acting under the authority of a religious or spiritual figure. They further believe that the ultimate sacrifice is to give their life for their cause. Honor is their most important value. To dishonor the cause would have the same implications as dishonoring God. They would give up their lives before they dishonor the cause. To do so would put them in disfavor with God and they would be punished by spending an eternity in damnation. (Bodansky, 1993)

The terrorist further justifies the death and carnage as the means used to get the public's and the government's attention. (Staten, 1998) Most terrorists do not consider their acts criminal because there are always circumstances which they can use to justify their actions. They feel powerless against the government. They act out in a seemingly illogical response because they feel minimized and relegated to a meaningless or inconsequential position in society. They are a small minority who are raging against the machine of organized society. (Staten, 1998)

Societies are divided into groups of people who have conflicting values and interests. Conflict theory argues that it is the government's responsibility to maintain stability between the various groups in the society. Ultimately, in order to survive, the government must represent the element that has the power and control, while appearing to represent everyone in the society. The powerless lose out in this social arrangement.

They do not have sufficient power to influence the operations of the state. Therefore, their interests are not represented. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes, 1998)

Terrorists groups are formed because some members of society have common interests that they believe can be furthered through collective action. As new ideologies arise new groups are formed, and old groups weaken and disappear. When this occurs, groups come into conflict with each other, and especially the government. The interests they serve come into conflict with each other, and they become competitive. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes, 1998)

The question of what motivates terrorists, according the Laqueur, has a variety of answers. Terrorists have assumed a wide variety of characteristics. They vary from terrorist to terrorist and from society to society. No one explanation can account for all of the manifestations. They can be highly idealistic and are deeply motivated individuals who have opted to use terrorism as a means of expressing themselves because they believe that there is no other way to affect a change in society except through acts of violence. (Laqueur, 1977)

Nonhistorical social scientists believe terrorism in the United States or political violence is a rare occurrence. It was something that occurred in less civilized areas of the world. They believe that these causes may have something to with the system. Low income, crime, poor educational and job opportunities may contribute to a feeling of frustration by the disenfranchised. (Fanon, 1963) It was assumed that a healthy society could not produce acts of terrorism. It was thought that as long as society fulfilled the needs of its citizens those citizens would thrive and allow the society to progress. Only

when the citizens became dissatisfied with the system, will acts of terrorism result. (Laqueur, 1977) History has proven this concept flawed. The right of the citizens to revolt against the government is, and always has been, present in society. Having this right does not mean acts of terrorism are socially acceptable. Terrorism is an act by a group of individual who are dissatisfied with the status quo. (Laqueur, 1977) The only question is will these groups act out violently to affect change?

Historical Perspective:

Niccolo Machiavelli

Terrorism is not a modern concept. It has been around for centuries in one form or another. Political violence has been studied by many political philosophers. One of these was Niccolo Machiavelli. Machiavelli was the product of fifteenth century Italy. He is most known for his writings on achieving and maintaining power. Although he did not specifically write about terrorism his teachings have strong violent overtones, and advocate political change through violence.

The Prince is Machiavelli's most famous work. It was designed to be a manual on achieving and keeping political power by any means necessary, including the use of violence. Many of the ideas he presented in the fifteenth century can be applied to the tactics of modern terrorists. Machiavelli advocated eliminating his enemies. He believed that if your enemies were not killed they would later rise to power, and destroy you. He also believed that anyone who supports your enemies must also be destroyed. Like

terrorists, Machiavelli appreciated the usefulness of violence. He wrote in *The Prince* that violence should be quick and devastating. If you devastate your enemy and inflict all the damage to him quickly you have an easier chance of achieving his power. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953)

A prince should rise to power through acts of deception, strength, and prudence. Machiavelli learned these traits from Cesare Borgia. He realized that these were important tactics that any ruler must have to achieve and maintain political power. This is very similar to the terrorist's ideology. Deception works because human nature is for the most part honest and believes what it sees and hears. Strength is important because you cannot gain and maintain power without it. Any useless actions should be avoided by rulers. They should concentrate their actions on meaningful acts. This is the art of being shrewd. Prudence is necessary. A ruler must have the qualities of a lion and a fox. He should use strength, cunning, and trickery to defeat his enemies. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953)

Although Machiavelli does not specifically refer to terrorism as a means of affecting change, it is not difficult to see the similarities. His teachings on political strength are important to a study of terrorism because they give us a look at historical perspectives on the issue. When carrying out political violence Machiavelli believed that one must consider the final results. He believed that there is a difference between considering political goals and justifying any act of political violence that leads to a desired goal. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953)

The basic premiss of his writings in *The Prince* is considered the ends justify the

means. He wrote that in order to be successful one must act outside of the boundaries of traditional ethical and religious codes. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953) This is how terrorists achieve their political power. They act outside of traditional norms. They are not concerned with the impact their acts have on society. All they want is to effect political change through violent acts.

In *The Prince* Machiavelli describes man as a selfish animal who is ruled by the insatiable desires for material gain and is driven by the principals of self interest. This description of man by Machiavelli can be easily used to describe terrorism. Terrorists are primarily concerned with forcing their ideologies upon an unsuspecting population. Acts of terrorism are a means of forcing the state to change its way of thinking.

According the Machiavelli there is nothing more difficult or more dangerous than introducing a new system of things. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953) When terrorists attempt to introduce their ideologies on the population they make enemies of everyone in the old system. This is one of the reasons that terrorists have such small circles of support. They counter the old system of society.

Terrorists are considered wicked and evil. They accomplish their goals through the use of fear and intimidation. Machiavelli would agree that this is a legitimate means to political power. He wrote that a prince should come to power by wickedness and should live a wicked life at every stage of his career. A cruel ruler is feared by his subjects. Through his cruelty he spreads fear through his actions. And through these actions his power is not questioned. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953)

Machiavelli believes that a ruler must not worry about the reproach of cruelty.

Cesare Borgia and Hannibal are two examples Machiavelli used in *The Prince*. They were both feared by their troops. Because of this when they commanded in foreign lands there never arose dissention, during both good and bad fortune. This resulted from their inhuman cruelty. Rulers, or individuals, who are trying to establish a new system cannot escape the reputation of being cruel. It is also much safer to be feared than loved. Love is held together by a chain of obligation. Fear is held together by a dread of punishment. (Machiavelli, Milligan, 1953) Terrorists rely of this dread of punishment to force the government, or the population, to take them seriously.

Most importantly in dealing with the affairs of political power Machiavelli is commonly referred to as saying a ruler must ascend to power and maintain that power at any cost. Terrorists have adopted many of Machiavelli's ideas. Their ultimate goal is to force political change through the use of violence, and they are unconcerned with what the end results as long as their ideologies are recognized.

Emile Durkheim

The process of social change described by Durkheim in *The Division of Labor in Society* details societies change from the more primitive mechanical society to the more advanced organic society. In the mechanical form of society the different groups of people are, for the most part, isolated from each other and are basically self sufficient. They are the jack-of-all-trades in society. In this type of society there is no division of labor. All of these social groups live and work under largely identical circumstances. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes 1998)

Despite this arrangement Durkheim believes that in every society there is always a desire for diversity and differences within the group. There cannot be a society where the individual members do not differ more or less from the collective. The mechanical society attempts to repress this desire and puts pressure on its members to conform to the collective.

The organic society is the contrast. In this type of arrangement the individual members of the society depend upon each other. There are no individual members, but instead a diversity which serves the entire society. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes 1998)

This type of society is characterized by the fact that the individual members have different tasks and responsibilities that are independent of other members. This modern form of society requires the members to work together in order to survive and prosper. They do this because each individual performs a specialized task instead of being a jack-of-all-trades. The organic society is held together by the fact that the individual members need the specialized abilities of the others in order to survive. This results in both more solidarity through collective arrangements and in more individuality. (Ritzer, 1996)

The division of labor does not solve all of the ills of society. Within every society there will be a loosening of the common morality. This is the result of, according to Durkheim, the rise of organic society. In the concept of anomie Durkheim believes that as a result of individuals having highly specialized skills they become isolated. They begin to feel disconnected from their work and society itself. (Ritzer, 1996) This further results from the pressures that society places on its members.

As a result of industrialization the division of labor increased leaving society with a

feeling of alienation. The workers did not feel they had a voice in the system. They further feel through this division of power that they do not hold any of the reigns of power. Durkheim further wrote, that if societies needs required more than could be granted, or if they required something different all together, there will be continued friction. As a result crime occurs and sacrifices must be made. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes 1998)

These types of societies cannot be formed without making sacrifices, it is the price of membership. Members are required to conform to the standards of society in order to function effectively. With this system it is inevitable that certain members will be unable or unwilling to conform to the collective. Durkheim believed this is a normal part of society. In fact, society needs this conflict. By punishing criminals the collective receives a sense of moral superiority. It is this sense of superiority that is the primary source of social solidarity. Because of this arrangement crime plays an important role in maintaining solidarity. When criminals violate the law they, the inferiors, are punished by society thus allowing society to feel superior. (Ritzer, 1996) This punishment is needed to maintain the average members allegiance to the society. The punishment of the offender also acts as a deterrent in society.

According to Durkheim because of this relationship crime is a normal and necessary part of society. A crimeless society is impossible and also not desirable. The very arrangement of the division of labor requires a certain element of crime to survive. Crime is the price society pays for progress. (Vold, Bernard, Snipes 1998)

Conclusion

There is no one simple definition that describes terrorism. It means different things to different people. Leading terrorism experts have written volumes on the different definitions, and even they cannot agree amongst themselves. This chapter provided a glimpse of the subject and provided a few of the more excepted definitions. The subject was addressed from both a legal and scholarly perspective. Despite the complexities of terrorism, it can be summed up in the fact that most people familiar with the subject know what terrorism is when they see it.

The word terrorism has only been around since the 1960's, but the idea has been around since the beginning of time. Events that today are called terrorism were in the past called something else, political murder, tyrannicide, or just simply criminal activity. Consequently, there is not a single U.S. code section that makes terrorism a crime. Terrorist activities always fall under other formes of criminal activity.

Labeling something a terrorist attack is becoming more and more common place. Three decades ago the only people who were called terrorists were masked gunman hijacking and bombing planes in the Middle East. Today if your next door neighbor sets off a pipe bomb, he can be labeled a terrorist. The face of terrorism is changing and it is beginning to look more like ourselves.

What causes terrorism was also discussed in this chapter. The causes are as diverse as the definitions. Again, its causes are as diverse as any other aspect of the subject. A discussion of the issues that cause terrorism would look similar to the issues that cause crime in general. Terrorism is nothing more than crime taken to the extreme.

Several of the most prominent issues that cause terrorism were addressed. Saying what causes terrorism is no different from saying what causes crime. Because hundreds of theorists have written hundreds of books on the subject, only a few of their theories have been examined.

History has only recently given us the term terrorism, although it has been around since the dawn of time. Philosophers have written about the subject for centuries. Everyone from Thucydides, to Sun Tzu, to modern day boardroom warriors have written about the art of terror. It would be impossible, and not the intent of this thesis, to discuss them all. Emile Durkheim contributed much to the theories of crime and Niccolo Machiavelli contributed much to the idea of political strength, both issues that lie at the heart of terrorism.

Their theories as they would apply to terrorism were briefly discussed to give the reader a historical perspective of the issues surrounding terrorism. Other theorists were mentioned in an attempt to lend credence to terrorism in antiquity. This chapter was designed to define the subject, discuss the causes of terrorism, and give historical perspectives on the subject. It was not meant to be an in-depth discussion on the theories of crime or political violence as they are viewed through history.

CHAPTER 3: The Right-Wing Terrorist Movement

Overview

Chapter three will look at what is commonly referred to as the right-wing movement. This movement is made up of dozens of small independent groups with varying ideologies. This chapter will examine some of the major players in the movement. It will also attempt to explain why they feel alienated by the government. This will include a discussion of Durkheim's theories. It will also look at the resources that these groups possess, in terms of membership, money, and weapons. Their individual ideologies will be explained. Finally, the chapter will discuss the difficulties evolved with combating this type of terrorism.

The Right-Wing Movement

The right-wing movement is not a single cohesive movement. It does not have a single central leadership, or governing body, but is instead made up of dozens of small independent groups who are connected together by a vaguely similar set of beliefs. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000) Within these groups are hundreds of smaller groups who operate independently. Only a very small number of these groups will act violently, but many of them have the potential to inflict severe damage.

The majority of these groups are bonded by a common goal. They believe they have the right to live their lives free from government influence. They further believe the government, principally the federal government, is too intrusive in their lives, and is

attempting to dedicate to them how to live. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000) These groups feel alienated from tradition society. They are not a part of society's normal division of labor. They act out against the government, because according to Durkheim's theories, they do not have a sense of collective identity. Their demands are not being meet so they resort to alternative goals.

There are several ways the members of this movement can go about fulfilling the demands of society. According to Durkheim, one of these ways is to formulate an alternative set of goals, and then go about achieving the goals through alternative means. (Ritzer, 1996) This path is the path of demand fulfillment that terrorists take. They realize their goals cannot be meet by traditional means so they develop alternative methods of achieving their goals.

Durkheim believes that every society has its members who are not like the majority. Criminals, including terrorists and the right-wing movement, are one element of this minority. Terrorists, like everyone else in society, are not happy until their needs are proportional to their means. The needs of terrorists conflict with the needs of everyone else in society. Terrorists want more than society can grant, or their needs are altogether different than the rest of society. Because their needs are different than the rest of society, they are always opposed to society. (Ritzer, 1996)

The threat of domestic terrorism has significantly increased in the last two decades. Prior to the 1980's the most serious domestic threat was from white supremacists. Today there is a new bread of domestic terrorists. These groups are waging a war against their own government. They advocate nothing less than the total destruction of the federal

government. If these groups had their way, the United States would become a nation ruled by white men who believed they received their laws from God and the Bible. They would live in independent jurisdictions where women and minorities would be excluded. Racism and xenophobia would rule.

These groups are difficult to understand. They do not have a single national organization. They are made up of groups of individuals in various parts of the country who are unrelated except in their basic common ideologies. They believe that they have exhausted all legal means for bringing about governmental change and have decided to fight a war against their repressive government. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

The Christian Identity Movement

The identity movement is a quasi-religious movement that provides a theological foundation for racist and anti-semitic groups. The movement has established a set of theological beliefs that center around Christianity. The leaders of the movement use Christian teachings as a means to gain support. They do this to provide a sense of religious unity to persons with racist ideas, and allows persons with religious ideas to come in contact with the racist movement. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

The Christian Identity Movement was previously known as the Anglo-Israelism or British-Israelism Movement. Their roots are in the beliefs that they are the direct descendants of the ancient Israelites, God's chosen people, and the heirs to all of God's

promises. They consider themselves modern Anglo-Saxons who are the direct descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

Members of the movement do not see themselves as a new sect or denomination. Instead, they consider themselves to be Orthodox Christians who accept the Bible as the true and literal word of God. Their literal interpretations of the Bible manifests itself in their belief in the story of creation in Geneses. They further believe that a final battle will be fought between the people of God and his enemies. Identity members believe they are the people of God, and people of other races and beliefs are their enemies. It is through these beliefs that they have spiritual justification to battle any infidel who does not support their beliefs. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

Members of this movement live in every state of the union. They reside in large cities and in the rural back woods of America. The true believers live in small groups. Their church is at the center point in their lives. They quietly go about their lives studying the Bible and preparing for the final battle between God and the unbelievers. In preparation for this battle they stockpile weapons and train themselves in the arts of war, a war they will carry out against anyone who attempts to harm their way of life.

Racism plays a major role in the beliefs of the identity movement. The Ku Klux Klan, the New Order, and the Aryan Nation are associated with the Christian Identity Movement. The movement preaches racial intolerance and believes white Christian males are the dominate form of the human spirit. They believe that members of other races are infidels and in the final battle between God and his enemies, the nonbelievers will be

destroyed. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

The Movement's Membership and Means of Communication

There are many reasons why people join militias. Some join the movement out of a sense of religious obligation. Others are driven by racism or resentment against a particular group in society. Still others join out of a desire to use military and police style tactics and weapons. And others join out of a sense of belonging. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000)

Despite all of their different reasons for joining the anti-government movement, most members have a common belief. They believe the federal government is ineffective and evil. They believe it has a hidden agenda and is disarming its citizens and subjugating them to totalitarian rule.

Religion is a strong motivator in the militia movement. In their war against the government militia members think God is on their side. Their propaganda is filled with religious overtones. Many of the groups believe that in order for Christ's second coming, God's law of earth must be established through a great battle. This Armageddon, militias believe, is their call to war against the federal government. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000) This message has strengthened the movement and allowed it to unite. Christian militias believe Armageddon is at hand and their mission is to slay the beast, the satanic government.

Determining which of these groups are violent, as opposed to which groups are harmless protesters, poses a unique challenge for law enforcement. It is difficult from a

sociological or law enforcement perspective to determine the possible violent potential of these groups.

The FBI has established a list of risk factors that has been developed in an attempt to determine a group's propensity toward violence. Among these factors are a history of violent episodes in the past. The leader's mental stability can also be a factor. If the leader or many of his followers have a dependency on drugs or alcohol, this could create a problem for law enforcement. A sudden change in ideology could be an indicator toward violence. The purchase of weapons, poisons, chemical or biological weapons could also be an indicator. If a once peaceful group suddenly begins to outfit itself with weapons and begins to train for what appears to be a violent act, investigators must assume that the group is going to carry out the acts they appear to be training for. If a group has the knowledge, means, and ability to carry out acts of violence they should be monitored closely. (Szubin, 2000)

Groups that exhibit several of these risk factors may never commit an act of violence, while a groups with only one or none of the risk factors may pose a genuine threat to society. The stockpiling of weapons creates a sense of alarm within the law enforcement community. These groups do this for a variety of reasons. Most of the groups exhibit a certain amount of paranoia. Some groups will arm themselves to protect against an expected attack by the government or rival groups. These groups are considered reactive and usually do not attack unless provoked. Other groups are considered offensive and will carry out violent unprovoked acts. (Szubin, 2000) It is very difficult to determine which of these groups pose a threat. Many times the only thing

authorities can do is monitor the group and wait until they are about to commit a terrorist attack.

Not all groups who appear violent will act violently. By categorizing the individual groups by their risk factors law enforcement can generate a more accurate view of which groups pose a threat to the community and which groups are simply engaging in saber rattling.

In spite of not having a coherent nationwide organization and leadership, the militia movement is well connected. They have increased in size and created a stronger movement. The most organized of these groups are home to a variety of violent anti-government movements. They can be found in all 50 states and are made up of small groups who organize amongst themselves and have little outside contact. (Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997) They communicate with each other through fax machines and the internet. They spend time in internet chat rooms, and gather at rallies and survivalist expos. They trade tactics and mail order catalogs on bomb making and terrorism. Books on the movement are printed and distributed. Cable access channels have become the newest method of spreading their message. The computer still remains the most used tool of these groups. It allows members to meet with like-minded individuals from all over the world. By doing this individual member have the feeling they are not alone. They discuss their theories and trade stories with people who support their views. Because of the size of the world wide web, and the advances in encryption software, members can communicate with almost total anonymity.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, estimates that there

are more than 1800 web sites which promote hate, in an attractive yet unassailable way. (Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997) The Militia Task Force a branch of the Southern Poverty Law Center has documented more than two hundred anti-government web sites. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000) It is impossible to estimate how many people visit these sites each year, and how many more are influenced by their rhetoric.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the extremist movement in America. *Time* magazine estimates the numbers as high as 12 million. The Militia Task Force has identified 858 Patriot groups in all 50 states, including 370 militias. The Simon Wiesenthal Center reports more than 250 extremists groups. (Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997)

These groups represent a cross section of the American public. They come from every walk of life, and are united by their hate of the federal government. Despite their differences they do have a few similarities. The majority are white, Christian, and male. These groups offer their members a sense of self worth and provide them with a mission. Because they feel they are victims the movement offers them a scapegoat for all of their problems, the government.

A Means of Defense: Weapons, Training, and the Desire

These Patriots will guard their independence with a cache of weapons and will use their weapons against anyone who comes to strip them of their perceived God given rights. They will violently attempt to overthrow the established government and no one

will pay taxes. They view the federal government as an overburdened enemy, and feel it must be destroyed.

Buying these weapons and funding training requires a healthy cash flow. This is done through numerous ventures, some legal, other not. Patriot radio broadcaster Chuck Harder and his *For the People* organization took in more than \$4 million in 1994. Bob Gritz, a former Green beret and militia member, charges \$10 a head for admission to his speeches. He also sells videotapes at his training seminars. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000)

Other activities include bank robberies. One team of robbers robbed 22 banks which netted them \$250,000 in a two year period. The Patriot group *We The People* was indicted for charging people \$300 each to participate in a bogus law suit against the federal government. The group netted \$2 million before the leaders were arrested. (Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997) In July 1984 the Silent Brotherhood stole \$3.8 million from a Brinks armored truck. (Flynn, Gerhardt, 1989) This is thought to be the single largest robbery by the militia movement.

This money pays for training as well. Even though militia and paramilitary training is illegal in many states it is a popular activity for many groups. It is impossible to know how many militia groups participate in these types of activities, but the Militia Task Force has identified training sites in 23 states. Twelve of the sites are in states that expressly forbid such activity. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

In order to do this they need weapons. The Second Amendment of the Constitution gives them all the rights they feel they need to stockpile guns. They believe

this gives them the right to buy and learn how to use weapons of all kinds. The assault rifle is the weapon of choice, because it is the most appropriate weapon for the anti-government foot soldier. They believe that the more militia members who possess weapons the less likely the government will be to try and take them away. They argue that in order to defend yourself every citizen should join a militia, equip themselves, and train for the imminent war with the government. (Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1997) Many of these groups do not train in secret. Many are very vocal about their activities. They do this to increase their membership which allows them to be better prepared for their armed conflict with the government. Some train primarily in the use of weapons and military tactics. Others use highly sophisticated weapons and state of the art military equipment. These more advanced militia groups also participate in training programs such as intelligence gathering, explosive, ambushing, and computer crimes. The instructors at these camps are Vietnam and Gulf war veterans. Many more are active and retired military and law enforcement personnel. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

Recent attacks can be attributed to individuals who are part of this movement and have been trained at these camps. The most notable are Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nicholas. Numerous media reports and other sources, including McVeigh himself, reported they had anti-government extremist views and had attended Patriot rallies. The bomb that destroyed the federal building was one that incorporated materials and a design that are common of the militia movement.

Amtrak's Sunset Limited passenger train was derailed in October 1995 in a remote area of Arizona. One passenger was killed and 83 were injured. The event had all the

earmarks of a militia attack. Evidence at the scene, including a note declaring responsibility, lead federal investigators to the conclusion it was an act of Patriot sabotage. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000) The same night of the Amtrak attack, a quarter ton of premixed ANFO (ammonium nitrate and fuel oil) was stolen from a Fayette Co. Ga. company. ANFO is the explosive mix used in the Oklahoma City bombing. In march of 1995 four members of the Minnesota Patriots Council were convicted of conspiracy to produce ricin, which they planned to use to kill IRS officials. Ricin is a deadly toxin which is classified as a biological weapon. The Tri-State Militia, which is made up of militia members from 30 states, was linked to a plot to bomb government and private buildings that oppose the movement. These sites included the Southern Poverty Law Center, offices of the Anti-Defamation League, federal buildings, gay and lesbian centers, and abortion clinics. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

These militia groups use a variety of terrorist weapons and tactics. These include military weapons and explosives. The militia deals heavily in weapons of all sorts. Many of the more sophisticated weapons were stolen from military armories by active and retired military personnel. These include C-4 explosive, surface to air missiles, anti-tank missiles, land mines, grenades, etc. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000) Many times the militia groups are as well or better equipped than the law enforcement agencies that are trying to thwart their activities.

Biological and chemical weapons have also been discovered in militia members possession. Larry Wayne Harris, a self described Aryan nation member, purchased

bubonic plague and inactive anthrax. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999) He was charged in 1995 but today is a free man. Chemical weapons stolen from military bases have also been discovered. Manuals on the manufacture of chemical weapons are prevalent on the internet and throughout the militia culture. Tons of explosive materials have been stolen by suspected militia members. Most of it has never been recovered. The ricin possessed by the Minnesota Patriot Council was enough to kill 1,400 people. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

The targets of these groups are usually public officials. Threats and assaults have left many fearful for their safety, and forced many other to quit their jobs. John Bohlman, a prosecutor in Mosselshell Montana, says he wears a bulletproof vest to work. Martha Bethell, a city judge in Hamilton Montana, testified before a Senate Judiciary Committee that more must be done to protect public officials who seek to thwart the militias. A Missouri state trooper was wounded by a Patriot sniper after he attested a Patriot member. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

These extremists are difficult to track and capture. They are made up of tightly bonded cells who have similar ideologies and are independent from other extremists groups. Many of their activities are perfectly legal requiring law enforcement to wait until they have committed a crime. In many cases by the time they have violated the law it is too late.

What makes these Patriots a unique threat to law enforcement is the fact that these groups are not made up of foreign terrorists, but of American citizens who resent the governments evolvment in every aspect of their lives. These citizens are doing more than

just preaching their rhetoric of hate, they are acting on it. These groups are responsible for hundreds of assaults against the government. These assaults include thefts, bombings, and murder.

Ruby Ridge and Waco

The anti-government movement was strengthened by two events which invited a war cry against the government. These events were the 1992 stand off at Ruby Ridge, and the 1993 stand off at Waco. In 1991 Randy Weaver, a Patriot with ties to the identity movement, was charged with selling sawed off shotguns to BATF (Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms) agents. It is thought they wanted him to become an informant. Later that year he failed to show up at a court hearing. In August of 1992 U. S. Marshals attempted to take Weaver into custody. In the exchange a U. S. Marshall was killed as well as Weaver's son. This started a 10 day standoff. During the standoff an FBI sniper killed Weaver's wife, Vicki. Only after Patriot member Bo Gritz, a retired Army Green beret, intervened did Weaver surrender. Weaver has acquitted on all charges except the failure to appear in court. He later won a law suit against the government. Many in the extremist community view this as an example of the government bullying its citizens and then trying to coverup its mistakes. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

The raid of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco TX. is a second example. Extremists saw the raid and the subsequent stand off by FBI and BATF agents as a sign the government would do anything to silence its critics. Members of the extremist

movement are convinced the government burned down the compound on purpose, despite the fact that there is evidence that it was Davis Koresh and his followers who started the fire. April the 19th, the day the compound burned, is an important date in the militia movement. It is also the day the Oklahoma City bomber killed 168 people. This is not a coincidence. McVeigh picked that day because he went to Waco during the stand off and was moved by what he experienced there. Every April 19 since the bombing government officials have been on a high alert against further anti-government extremists attacks. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

Conclusion

The right-wing movement is a diverse group with membership in every area of the country. Because of this diversity, it poses a unique threat to law enforcement and the government. This fact combined with the movement's anti-government rhetoric puts the movement in a unique position to carry out acts of domestic terrorism with a good deal of success.

In order to successfully combat this threat one needs to have an understanding of the ideologies surrounding the movement. There also needs to be an understanding about the capabilities and tactics of the movement. This chapter presented an overview of the movement, which included many of these points. Hopefully at the conclusion of this chapter the reader will have a better understanding of the right-wing movement.

CHAPTER 4: The Public Safety Response to Terrorism

Overview

When a terrorist attack occurs any area of the country can be the target. When the attack occurs the local government agencies will be the first to respond. It will be that jurisdiction's responsibility to handle the management of the event. The general public does not realize what is involved in managing a terrorist attack. Many believe you can simply call the FBI and they will arrive and take over the incident. This is untrue. The federal government does have numerous resources at its disposal to manage the incident. The only problem is that it takes hours if not days to mobilize these resources. (Virginia Department of Emergency Management)

The first few hours after the incident are the most critical. During that time the protection of lives and evidence are the most critical objectives. During those first few hours the only people on the scene will be local public safety providers, i.e., the local fire and police departments. The initial phase of any terrorist incident will be solely in the hands of local providers. (Virginia Department of Emergency Management)

This chapter will detail who America's public safety providers are and where their strengths and weaknesses lie. It will explain what their capabilities are, and how they would go about managing a terrorist incident. The tactics used by terrorists will also be explained including the use of weapons of mass destruction. The federal government's ability to back up the local response will also be detailed.

America's First Responders: Their Tactics and Resources

The United States is made up of individual states each consisting of individual localities. Each one of these municipalities is independent from the others. When an act of terrorism occurs it is the responsibility of the individual jurisdiction to respond to the threat. Because of this fact, when terrorists strike their attacks usually only effects one locality. These individual acts fall within the immediate purview of local public safety providers. They present significant changes far removed from the daily concerns, priorities, and operational considerations of most public safety administrators. (Bodrero, 1999) Every community must take precautions to protect its citizens against a possible terrorist attack. The federal government has numerous resources to assist local agencies, but it is up the jurisdictions themselves to safeguard their communities.

Combating terrorism is a collective effort. It requires the resources of many government agencies. Because of the nature of terrorism they have many of the advantages. They strike targets at their discretion. This leaves authorities only to guess when and where the next attack will be. Combating this threat is a difficult task. The federal government has implemented numerous programs to curb this threat, but they cannot do it alone. They count on the resources of the state and local governments

These three levels of government, federal, state, and local have implemented many counter terrorism programs in their communities. Many of these programs have resulted in successfully programs. Others have been used as models to improve upon.

Combating terrorist attacks requires a multi-jurisdictional approach. No one agency can handle a terrorist incident. The federal government in cooperation with state

and local public safety personnel have numerous resources at their disposal. Communities are beginning to realize that it can happen in their community and are establishing contingency plans. Local planners are establishing lines of communication with officials at the state and federal level in anticipation of an attack. They are also training and equipping their personnel with the tools needed to handle the initial response to an attack. Combating terrorism requires the assistance of everyone. The law enforcement agencies who are responsible for thwarting terrorist attacks cannot do it alone. They need the help of everyone in the community.

Terrorist attacks are becoming fewer, with more destructive attacks designed to achieve more casualties and promote more terror. While the number of terrorist attacks in the U.S. has declined, the number of people killed and injured has increased. These attacks have evolved to reflect the technologies and methodologies of the times. The threat of Cyber-terrorism and attacks on critical infrastructure are increasing. As well as the threat of terrorists using weapons of mass destruction. (Freeh, 1999)

Cooperation among law enforcement agencies at all levels represents an important component in the response to this new threat. The FBI has established the National Preparedness Office to coordinate the efforts of a wide range of local, state, and federal agencies to enhance the abilities of communities around the country to respond to terrorist threats. (Freeh, 1999)

In Virginia the lead agency responsible for combating terrorism is the Virginia Department of Emergency Management (VDEM). They along with the Virginia Department of State Police (VASP) are responsible for Virginia's counter terrorism

response. The VDEM recognizes four types of terrorism. The first is explosive/arson. The International Association of Fire Chiefs estimates that 70% of all terrorist attacks employ this tactic. The second type of terrorism is through the use of chemical agents. Biological agents are next followed by the use of nuclear materials. (Commonwealth of Va.)

The VDEM recognizes two ways to minimize the likelihood of a terrorist attack. These are prevention and preparation. Prevention requires the use of law enforcement intelligence to identify terrorist threats before they commit the acts. Targets must be “hardened” to make their attack more difficult. This involves safeguards against theft of biological, chemical, and nuclear materials from government installations.

Because no prevention addenda is one hundred percent effective, preparation for a terrorist attack must be considered. This includes pre-planning for a terrorist attack. Potential targets must be identified and contingency plans undertaken in the event of a terrorist attack. Local responders must be equipped and trained to deal with the initial phase of the response. These emergency response plans must integrate law enforcement, fire, EMS, and emergency management personnel at the local level. State and federal responders will only be available for the secondary response. Local responders must prepare themselves for the initial response. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Most local governments provide their emergency responders with little more than hazardous material and SWAT training to deal with terrorism/terrorist activities. Terrorist activities extend beyond any one jurisdictional boundary and the investigative approach to these types of crimes should have a multi-jurisdictional approach.

Establishing a local terrorism plan requires involvement from every aspect of local public safety. Local terrorism response planning should be no different from planning for any local emergency. Local emergency services in Virginia are based on a broad multi-hazard, multi-functional approach to public safety. During the initial response to the terrorist event the existing local emergency services organizations will provide the framework for the local resources to be deployed and coordinated. They will also provide the framework for the state, and federal response. The local first responders will establish a response which anticipates and takes into consideration a state government response. When the VDEM and VASP arrive they will build upon what the local responders have established. They will continue their response keeping in mind the resources and capabilities of the federal agencies. An effective local response can be the deciding factor to the successful outcome of a terrorist incident. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Local emergency planners, with the assistance of state and federal agencies, must have a hazards analysis preformed in their community. This will allow local jurisdictions to identify potential terrorist targets, and identify who is most likely to carry out terrorist attacks in their community. They should further develop a state of readiness to prevent, deter, and interdict terrorist attacks. They need to identify potential threats and other areas that may be vulnerable to attacks. These planners should include senior agency personnel including, administrators, legal advisors, local emergency services providers, hazardous material workers, state emergency services providers and the myriad of other representatives from the numerous federal agencies who are responsible for dealing with terrorism. The FBI, as well as other state and local agencies, should have a role in

reviewing, updating, and assessing these operating procedures. (Bodrero, 1999)

Local planners are the most in tune with their individual communities. They are uniquely qualified to spearhead an anti-terrorism attack plan. They know the limitations and strengths of the local emergency responders. They know where the weaknesses lie in their community, and who is most likely to exploit those weaknesses for personal or political reasons. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Responding to these types of attacks requires a well coordinated multi-agency, multi-level response. Because of the response by many unrelated government agencies an incident level management system must be in place to provide a standardized organizational framework that responders can quickly understand and adapt to. This system should have the ability to effectively manage and coordinate local responders as well as a state and federal response. In Virginia the Unified Command system includes the FBI-special agent in charge, Virginia State Police, State Coordinator's Office, Federal Coordinator's Office, and the local Director/Coordinator of Emergency services (Commonwealth of Va.) By Presidential Directive (PDD-39/62) the FBI has jurisdiction over all terrorist incidents.

Local law enforcement is tasked with numerous responsibilities following a terrorist incident. They must maintain law and order, provide warning to the public, security of critical facilities and supplies, evacuation of impacted areas, controlling access to evacuated areas or critical facilities, and assisting with search and rescue operations, and identification of the dead. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Planning for a terrorist incident is no different then planning for any natural or man

made disaster. Every community must incorporate terrorism into the local emergency response system. Plans are of little value. Planning is everything. The planning process is the all important function in a community's ability to respond to a terrorist incident. The more knowledgeable and trained the individual responders are as to what their individual responsibilities are, the smoother the plan will go. The quality of the planning process is important. Communities must ensure that the planning process is workable. A poor plan well executed is still a poor plan. (Commonwealth of Va.)

The Virginia State Consequence Management plan calls for the VASP to be the lead law enforcement agency in the event of a terrorist strike. They are required to closely coordinate with the FBI and local law enforcement agencies in the event of a state-level crisis management issue. The VDEM is responsible for coordinating between FEMA and local emergency management officials. VDEM has the responsibility of developing and maintaining the State Terrorism Consequence Management Plan, and to ensure that it meshes with all appropriate local, state, and federal plans. (Commonwealth of Va.)

FEMA provides state and local emergency management agencies with limited funding. This funding is used for orientation training for first responders, including law enforcement. One such program in Virginia is "Public Safety Response to Terrorism". It is taught by the VDEM, and it focuses on the roles and duties of the various responding agencies and stresses the need for emergency responders to work toward a unified response. (Virginia Department of Emergency Management)

Some of these training sources include issues of threat potential and awareness. The sources stress that law enforcement should orientate itself toward becoming familiar

with current terrorist trends and activities so they can make informed decisions about potential extremist activities, thereby preventing attacks. Upon the commencement of a terrorist incident local authorities are expected to activate their mutual aid agreements with neighboring localities. The VDEM plan assumes the incident will overwhelm both local and mutual aid capabilities and that a state level response will be needed to cope with the incident. This process also allows for notification of the FBI. Notifying the FBI sets the federal response plan into action. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Reactive measures are much more popular to policy makers. Proactive measures are difficult to justify because they offer very little bang for the buck. Spending millions of dollars to fortify an embassy is easy to justify because you have something to show for it. Proactive counter terrorism measures do not have those same advantages but are just as important, if not more important. Terrorists enjoy a one hundred percent success rate against unsecured targets, and an eighty percent success rate against secure targets. If terrorists target the most secure embassy in the world, they have an eighty percent chance of doing some sort of damage to the exterior of the building. Conversely, if public safety officials positively know about the existence of a bomb they only have a twenty percent chance of finding it. (Commonwealth of Va.)

Proactive measure may be able to predict the actions of the terrorists long before the actual bombs explode. Former Reagan administration counter terrorism expert L. Paul Bremer said counter terrorism is eighty percent a matter of good intelligence. (Masland, 1995) Intelligence is the most important tool in combating terrorism, not concrete and steel.

Public Safety officials realize that terrorism is an effective means to voice opposition to the government or a cause. They also realize that it is difficult to combat because terrorism is cheap. Almost anyone can afford to purchase the materials needed to carry out an attack. There is little permanent infrastructure needed to carry out a terrorism campaign. It is mobile. Most of the materials necessary, especially for explosives and arson, are readily available and easily understood. It involves low level technology. For those outside the mainstream terrorism is more effective than the political process. For them it is easier than waging an all out war against the government. And unfortunately many times it works! (Commonwealth of Va.)

Only recently has legislative action been taken to remove some of the advantages terrorists possess over law enforcement. Law enforcement is becoming better funded and trained to combat the current increase in domestic terrorism. Local and state agencies are taking an active role in terrorism preparedness. The military is lending its numerous resources to help combat the problem. Through a combined effort and an understanding that terrorism is on the rise the U. S. we can hopefully win the war against terrorism. By being better prepared and more technologically advanced society should prevail over terrorism.

Only in the last few years have legislatures and policy makers taken a hard look at domestic terrorism. Ten years ago there were no federal statutes which defined domestic terrorism. Suspected terrorists were not prosecuted under anti-terrorist laws, but were charged under standard laws, e.g., possession of bomb and bomb making materials or property damage. This lack of understanding about terrorism made counter terrorism

difficult. Law enforcement is becoming better trained and equipped to deal with the problem. Technologies utilized by the military for battle field scenarios are now being used by law enforcement to combat terrorism. The FBI used National Security Agency satellites to intercept cellular phone calls of suspected terrorists prior to the cruise missile attacks in Sudan and Pakistan. The U.S. Navy used satellites to photograph the terrorists camps and pharmaceutical factory where they sent more than 50 cruise missiles, following the embassy bombings in Africa.

Terrorism does not just affect governments. It affects everyone. Law enforcement must be allowed to use the outside resources the government has to combat a problem which has community wide repercussions. Terrorists have become too advanced to be combated by traditional law enforcement methods. Law Enforcement must be allowed to adopt new measures and obtain outside assistance to effectively stem the new wave of terrorism. There is much debate about the use of the military in combating terrorism. The general consensus and established norm is that terrorism is a law enforcement problem. Terrorists are considered criminals who are arrested by law enforcement and punished by criminal courts. Those who believe that terrorists are criminals do not feel the military is needed to combat them. Others believe that combating terrorism is a matter of national security, requiring the military. The military handles national security matters, and law enforcement handles criminal matters. How terrorism is defined depends upon which arm of American justice is used to combat it.

In April 1996 President Clinton signed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. This act gave law enforcement officials greater powers to stop terrorists

before they strike, and to bring them to justice. The act bans fund raising in the U.S. which is used to support terrorist organizations. It also allows U.S. officials to deport suspected terrorists, and to refuse them entrance into the U.S. The law bans all U.S. aid to countries that provide assistance or military equipment to terrorist states. It allows U.S. citizens to sue foreign nations for acts of terrorism committed against Americans. Most importantly it allows for more than one billion dollars over the next four years to strengthen the federal law enforcement agencies in their fight against terrorism. (U.S. Dept. of State)

The Terrorist's use of Technology

With the advent of major technological advances in the last decade and a half, technology which was only available to the government and large industry is now available to everyone, terrorists included. The majority of the people in the industrialized world own or have access to a personal computer, or a cellular telephone. Information is the most important component to both carrying out and combating terrorism. Terrorists use technology to their benefit. They surf the internet on personal computers, use global cellular telephones, and use tactical equipment similar to that used by counter terrorist groups. All they need to carry out their objectives is money and know how, both of which any successful organization has in abundance.

The world today is becoming more and more global. People and property can travel cheaper, easier, and faster than ever before. Advances in communication and technology allow us to have worldwide connections from almost anywhere. Many global

citizens, especially those in the United States, commute through multi-city, and even multi-state metropolitan areas. Many other fly from one city to another on a daily basis.

A global society creates many challenges to those who are tasked to combat terrorism, while at the same time creates many advantages for the terrorist. This globalization puts strangers of different nationalities together in large metropolitan areas making the detection on an outsider almost impossible. It allows the terrorist more freedom of movement. After they have committed an act, they are free to move to different areas virtually unnoticed. Victims and witnesses may be from different areas making the job of law enforcement even harder.

Terrorists have the ability to travel internationally very quickly following their attack. This creates conflicts with political charged issues such as extraditing and national sovereignty. It further creates problems because of the system of justice in the United States. This system consists of territorial jurisdictions with usually only one police force having primary jurisdiction in the area. This creates problems of communication with state and federal agencies who are usually better equipped and experienced to combat terrorism.

The issue of technology and weapons of mass destruction are just as complicated. Manufacturing nuclear and CBWs (chemical biological weapons) require know how and technological expertises. A decade ago this know how was possessed by relatively few people in society. With the advances in technology and the free exchange of information the expertise needed to build these weapons are much more common.

Just because a terrorist organization, or a nation state, possesses weapons of mass

destruction does not mean that they will use it. As any nuclear powered nation will tell you, simply possessing a nuclear weapon is enough to be taken seriously. It is the same for a nuclear powered terrorist organization. The same is also true of CBWs. Just the threat of nuclear/CBW terrorism is enough to cause public panic. Terrorists do not need to possess a nuclear weapon to make their voices heard. Destroying a nuclear power plant or military facility housing nuclear weapons can have the same effect as detonating a nuclear weapon. The most likely nuclear terrorism scenario is not a full nuclear explosion, but rather an organization getting access to nuclear material and attaching it to a conventional weapon. In the subsequent explosion radioactive material could be dispersed into the atmosphere of a major city. Given the sophistication needed to build a functional weapon this is the most likely scenario. (Sloan, 1995)

Counterterrorist experts hope that if a terrorist organization is sophisticated enough to build a nuclear weapon they will be sophisticated enough to follow the example of every nuclear powered nation and not use it. If a terrorist organization were to detonate a nuclear weapon or launch a CBW attack against the U.S. it would be tantamount to war and bring a full military response. The U.S. would view this action as an attack on its sovereignty, and declare war on the group.

Combating this type of disaster scene is no different from combating a hazardous materials scene. Every community should have a contingency plan to deal with a hazardous materials incident. If they do, by virtue of the hazardous materials plan, they also have a weapons of mass destruction (WMD) plan, because they are one in the same

The media portrays the threat of nuclear terrorism as a much larger problem than

the threat of biological and chemical terrorism. Nuclear weapons evoke such strong emotional reactions that their near mention causes the public to stand up and take notice, thereby selling air time and newspapers. Most people have no idea what CBWs are. It is difficult to attach fear and horror to something that is most cases is colorless, odorless, and tasteless. On the other hand everyone has seen taped footage of a nuclear blast and seen the results of the explosion. CBWs are much more prevalent in the global arena. The countries of the industrialized world have agreed not to use or produce them, but the U.S. has thousands of tons of CBWs stockpiled on bases around the world. CBWs are cheap and easy to manufacture. The same equipment which is used to produce fertilizer and pharmaceuticals can be used to produce CBWs. Rural isolated areas are ideal for manufacturing these deadly compounds. This allows terrorists to develop their weapons away from the prying eyes of the authorities. CBWs have been nicknamed the poor mans atomic bomb.

Terrorist Tactics

Terrorism is not measured in terms of body counts instead it is measured in terms of the alarm it creates within society. It erodes confidence in governmental institutions which benefits those who lash out against the government. Terrorists use these tactics because they are straight forward, simple, and cause a great deal of mayhem in a relatively short period of time. They also draw a great deal of attention to their cause and act as a psychological tool to deter retaliation by the government. The amount of sophistication needed to carry out these acts is relatively simple. These acts are designed to fool the

public and the government into thinking that because an organization can create such a large display of force they must be powerful, and a force to be reckoned with.

The increases in technology have increased the effectiveness of terrorists. These increases have created far more effective weapons, and made those who use the weapons more efficient. Through this use of technology the terrorist can fool society into thinking that they are more powerful than they really are. They want society to believe that they can strike anywhere and at anytime, and with destructive force that cannot be stopped. The greater the act the greater the message.

Since the bombing of the World Trade Center (WTC) in 1993 there have been more than 200 truck bombings world wide. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999) This is a new trend in terrorism. The 1993 WTC bombing announced that terrorism can happen anywhere in the U.S. This fear was further compounded by the bombing in Oklahoma City, and the 1996 Olympics park bombing. These acts have shown that a bomb can come from anywhere at anytime and hit anyplace. Society cannot protect everywhere, everytime and everyplace. Terrorists will look at the targets that suit their causes and strike the one that is the most vulnerable.

Bombing is the most common type of terrorist activity. There are thousands of reported bombs every year in the U.S. There is a developing contest between the bombers and the bomb squads, and both sides are making advances. Brian Jenkins testified before Congress that these facts lead to the conclusion that there is a clear and present danger of further specular assaults on the government by terrorists. Large scale indiscriminate violence is the reality of today's terrorists. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999)

Bombs provide the most destruction for the least risk. They provide a large amount of physical and psychological damage to their targets, thereby increasing the social status of the individuals who set the bombs. All bombings are premeditated. This premeditation places the bomb detectives at a disadvantage. The bomber always has a head start. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999)

Society will tolerate an occasional bombing. Society will not tolerate a regular pattern of bombings as seen on the scale of the TWC bombing. Bombing is a crime whose crudeness and randomness are part of the point. America has a soft underbelly when it comes to protecting itself against terrorists. With its plethora of vulnerable targets and domestic freedoms, catching those who chose to exploit America's weaknesses is difficult. (On the Inside/ABC News, 1999)

Efforts are underway to provide first responders with the tactics necessary to combat this threat. Through the efforts of government agencies such as the FBI, FEMA, and the VDEM, local and state governments will be provided the necessary training and equipment needed to undertake the initial phase of a terrorist attack. Through these efforts localities are understanding the importance of terrorism prevention and preparation. They are seeing that terrorism can happen in their communities, and are preparing for such an attack. Combating terrorism is the responsibility of everyone. Terrorists have most of the advantages. Only through mutual cooperations can the government combat their efforts.

Terrorists target all types of elements in society, but their targets fall into five different categories. The first are symbolic or public targets. They are the most common

and are usually an important landmark, or state and local buildings. Government infrastructures such as bridges and highways represent the second category of targets. Military targets make up a popular terrorist target. Cyber targets such as air traffic control centers, emergency 911 centers, or utility companies make up the fourth target. Individual victims through acts of assassination, kidnaping and extortion make up the last category. (Bodrero, 1999)

These five categories are components of both international and domestic terrorism. Of the two the FBI considers domestic terrorism to be a greater threat to Americans. In the past international terrorism targeted U.S. citizens and interests overseas. The U.S. State Department has designated seven countries as sponsor of terrorism: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. (Lewis, 1999) These countries were at the forefront of terrorism aimed at Americans. The threat has changed. The most common type of terrorism comes from groups or individuals who operate without foreign support inside the U.S. who target both civilians and government infrastructures. These loosely affiliated rudimentary extremists pose the most urgent threat to the U.S. because they have the ability to remain unknown to law enforcement until it is too late. (Lewis, 1999)

Engaging in extremist activity does not necessarily mean a person is a terrorist. The majority of people who hold an extremist view are not terrorists and are not a threat to society. These people are ordinary members of society. Determining which groups or individuals, pose the most harm to society remains a challenge to law enforcement.

Terrorists do not kill for the thrill of killing. They have an agenda. Most organizations strive toward their agenda in a meticulous sane manner. Terrorists create

terror so they can broadcast their ideologies. CBWs are a favorite of modern terrorists. Because they have such destructive capabilities, their threatened use allows the terrorists to be taken seriously.

CBWs are not the only technology that gives terrorists greater access to a world audience. Terrorists rely on the press to provide them with free advertising. CNN and the other news networks provide terrorists with instantaneous coverage, thus spreading their message throughout the world. (Sloan, 1999) Terrorists and reporters have a mutual goal, and they use each other to accomplish this goal. Terrorists need the attention they receives from the press to get their message out, and the media needs to get its story. The larger and more violent the terrorist organizations the more attention it receives from the media. Technology has provided terrorists with this medium. Through the use of modern communication equipment an event happening tens of thousands of miles away can be viewed live in the homes of most Americans. This has allowed terrorists to spread their message and generate more support.

The most important member of a terrorist organization is not the one who drives the truck bomb into the embassy or the one who hijacks the plane. The most important members are the ones who provide the financial and logistic support. It is estimated that it takes 35-50 people to support one terrorist in the field. (White, 1991) Because most terrorist organizations are small, most number less than fifty, two or three hundred passive supporters are not hard to find. Passive supporters make up the greatest number of terrorists. They offer their support, money, weapons, housing etc., instead of taking an active role in the process. Without this loyal group of supporters there would be no

terrorist organization. Counter terrorist experts use this to their advantage. Instead of attacking the terrorists themselves and running the risk of an armed confrontation, they attack the passive supporters, thereby cutting off their means of support. In March of 1996, 29 world leaders gathered in Egypt to discuss world terrorism. It was formally known as the Summit of the Peacekeepers. Following this summit was a meeting of counter-terrorist expert in Washington. Both pursued better cooperation, the stoppage of terrorist fund raising, and stronger support for anti-terrorist law enforcement. (U.S. Dept. of State)

Terrorists support themselves in other ways as well. Terrorist organizations that lack foreign assistance generally rely on criminal activity to obtain operational support. (FBI Web Site) Many resort to racketeering and money laundering. Some terrorist organizations are seen as nothing more than gangsters. The IRA uses mob like techniques to support themselves. They have resorted to organized crime to support their operations. Some of their terrorist acts do more than promote terror. They are used to eliminate their competition. The IRA even owns a taxi cab company in Northern Ireland which they use to support themselves and to launder their money through. (White, 1991)

Narco-terrorism is a modern form of terrorism used by drug cartels. The anti-drug policies of the last three administrations have increased the risk of terrorist attacks on U.S. government and population centers in retaliation for the arrest and extradition to the U.S. of several drug lords. (Staten, 1991) They use terrorist type attacks against the governments of South American countries to promote fear and a sense that the drug lords and their products are to be left alone. Drug cartels are believed to be financing and

providing weapons to South American revolutionary organizations in exchange for protection. It is also believed that this same type of arrangement is occurring in Mexico where it could have a large impact on the U.S. (Staten, 1991)

Governments have no choice but to respond to this type of terrorism. Unfortunately, the most logical response to terrorism is to respond with terror. States are usually much more effective at using terrorism. They tend to overreact against the insurgent organization. The terrorists hope that the government will overreact to terrorists acts and will impose repressive or draconian measures to destroy the organization. They want the government to diminish individual freedoms, restrict freedom of speech and press, and lower themselves to the level of the terrorists. Terrorists know that this frustration on the part of the government will eventually cause the overthrow of the government, which is what the terrorists wanted in the first place. (Staten, 1991)

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chemical and biological weapons (CBWs) are the ultimate weapon in the terrorist's arsenal. CBWs have been used for centuries. During the middle ages bubonic plague ridden bodies were catapulted over the walls of castles. Blankets infected with smallpox were given to the Indians by the settlers. More recently, in September 1984, 751 people in a small Oregon town, one-tenth of the towns population, were infected with salmonella by a local cult. Members of the cult went into public restaurants and placed the salmonella in the salad bars. The Tokyo nerve gas attack killed 12 and injured more than 5,000. CBWs are nothing new and are being increasingly used by terrorists. (Germ

Warfare, ABC News 1998)

The most popular biological agent, and the one which causes the most alarm, is anthrax. Col. David Franz, head of the Army's germ research lab, describes anthrax as the Saturday night special of biological weapons. Both the former Soviet Union and Iraq have produced enough anthrax to kill the population of the world three times. Anthrax is very stable, grows quickly, and can be stored in a heated gel until it is ready to be released.

(www.outbreak) In 1979 the Soviets accidentally released anthrax into the atmosphere from a biological weapons factory killing 251 people. Fifteen years later U.S. doctors using human tissue saved by a Soviet pathologist determined that there were four different types of anthrax strains released into the atmosphere. They also discovered that one of the strains is immune to the anti-anthrax vaccine. (Germ Warfare, ABC News 1998)

Another CBW feared by counter terrorist experts is smallpox, one of the diseases that has killed more people than any other. The World Health Organization, an arm of the United Nations, rid the world of the smallpox virus in a lengthy and costly inoculation process. In 1971 the U.S. stopped giving the smallpox vaccines which leaves the distinct dime sized scar in the upper arm. In 1979 the U.N. declared smallpox eradicated from the planet. Smallpox is highly contagious, unlike anthrax, and one person could infect a large segment of the population. (www.outbreak) One terrorist scenario is where a smallpox vaccinated terrorist spreads the virus on board a jumbo jet, infecting a group of people who will travel to hundreds of different cities infecting hundreds of people along the way. Smallpox is so deadly that one in three people infected dies. The smallpox vaccination given to most older adult only lasts ten years, so there are very few people in the U.S.

who are immune to the virus. If one hundred people, say aboard an aircraft, were infected with smallpox in three to four days ten times as many people could be infected. The U.S. only has enough smallpox vaccine to inoculate seven million people, not nearly enough if a major outbreak occurred.

There are only two "known" sources of smallpox in the world today. One is at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta. The other is at Vector, a Soviet CBWs research facility in Siberia. The biologists who work at Vector, according to a defector who worked there, are able to reproduce the smallpox virus by the ton in a matter of days. They reportedly have also been able to combine the smallpox virus with the ebola virus. This combination has a ninety percent mortality rate and has no known antidote. Experts say that the possibility of terrorists gaining access to biological weapons from sources such as the former Soviet Union or Iraq are not only possible, but will happen for certainty if they have not already. (On The Inside/ABC News, 1999)

Robert Blitzer head of the FBI's Domestic Terrorism/Counter Terrorist Center says that at any given time there are 50-60 active investigations targeting weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Every year the FBI opens 20-30 cases involving domestic terrorism, seventy-five percent of those cases are opened before a crime has occurred. (FBI Domestic Terrorism Program, 1995) In 1997 the FBI opened 74 investigations of the use of WMD by terrorists groups, in 1998 the number was 181. Of those investigations opened in 1998, 112 were biological weapons investigations, and 29 were nuclear weapons investigations. (FBI, Terrorism in the U.S. 1998, 1999)

Larry Wayne Harris a white supremacist with ties to the Aryan Nation was

arrested twice in 1995 for possessing bubonic plague and again in February 1998 for possessing inactive anthrax. He ordered the bubonic plague from American Type Culture Collection (ATCC), a bio-research center in Rockville Maryland. He did not need any special FDA or EPA permits all he did was print up his request on official looking letter head and the ATCC shipped it to him in the mail. ATCC is the same company who sold the salmonella to the cult in Oregon, and sold Iraq its first strands of the anthrax virus. (Germ Warfare, ABC News 1998) Biological weapons are the threat of the 21st century. They are attractive to terrorists because they leave no finger prints and take several days to be discovered, giving the terrorist several days head start.

The ultimate sophistication would be the use of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons. There is little debate that these options will be available to terrorists in the future. All you have to do is watch the evening news to see how prevalent these weapons of mass destruction are in today's society. Iraq, a major supporter of state-sponsored terrorism, has been under U.N. sanctions since the ending of the Gulf war because it refuses to disclose to the Security Council the full extent of its biological and chemical weapons capabilities. The break up of the Soviet Union has put many top officials in the nuclear program out of work and a prime target for recruitment into the fledgling program of many terrorist supported third world countries. The proliferation of weapons grade nuclear material coming out of the Soviet Union is so great that many European countries have installed plutonium and uranium detectors in their airports to prevent trafficking. This disintegration of the Soviet Union and current trade in weapons grade nuclear material has emphasized the fact that both the material and know how are increasingly

available to those terrorists who want to exercise a nuclear option. The use of these weapons of mass destruction is not restricted to foreign countries or metropolitan centers. These attacks can occur anywhere.

With the number of unscrupulous anti-western countries developing nuclear capabilities it is only a matter of time before a terrorist organization has nuclear capabilities. In Tom Clancy's book *The Sum of All Fears* a pro-Islamic terrorist group with the help of an out of work Warsaw Pact nuclear physicist develops a low yield nuclear weapon. The terrorists detonate the weapon at the superbowl, completely destroying Mile High Stadium in Denver. Although this scenario is fiction, it is not beyond the realm of possibility. Any international event, Olympics, Goodwill Games, or soccer's World Cup, is an excellent forum for a terrorist attack. They get the most exposure for the least amount of effort.

At every major domestic, and international event, a terrorist attack is foremost in the minds of the security personal. The threat of a nuclear or biological attack is taken very seriously. (Nordberg, 1996) The FBI's hostage rescue team trains and consults with state and local law enforcement agencies prior to, and is on standby during the event. The Department of Energy has a Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST) which is deployed at all actual and suspected incidents where a nuclear device is believed or discovered. Every incident NEST has responded to has been an elaborate hoax, but experts believe that it is only a matter of time before the hoaxes become real. (Sloan, 1991)

This team along with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is on call or on standby during the event. In many cases mobile and fixed geiger counter and

airborne biological and chemical detectors are placed throughout the event.

The security at the summer Olympic games in Atlanta was called the most secure in the history of the Olympics. Even the most technologically advanced security was not enough to stop a loan bomber from entering the park with a crude pipe bomb and causing the death of two people. Incidentally, this crude extremely low-tech bomber has never been caught.

There is little debate that a terrorist group will have nuclear capabilities in the future, but rather if they will use these capabilities. Chemical and biological weapons have been used by terrorists in the past. The Tokyo subway attack by the Aun Shim-Rikyo is the most vivid example. Ramsey Yousaf, the ring leader in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, wanted to create an explosion so great that one tower would fall into the other thereby causing both towers to be destroyed. In addition to this is a little reported fact that FBI and BATF agents found traces of cyanide which they believe Yousaf may have added to the explosive mix. It is further believed that his intentions were to poison the rescue workers and population of the area near the blast. Fortunately, the tremendous heat created by the explosion vaporized all the cyanide before it entered the atmosphere.

Federal Government Capabilities

The federal government has numerous resources at its disposal to combat terrorism. They are in the unique position of not having to deal with the day to day problems that emergency responders must deal with in every U.S. city. The federal agencies responsible for combating terrorism understand the capabilities of state and local

agencies through joint training programs and tailor their response accordingly.

The FBI is the lead government agency responsible for investigating acts of terrorism committed within the United States. The threshold for opening a full terrorism investigation is low. All that is required of the Bureau is that they have evidence that someone is violating federal criminal laws to further a political cause. The Bureau can open a preliminary inquiry if they receive information or allegations about this activity. The Bureau received these responsibilities through a series of presidential directives and legislative acts.

In 1982 President Ronald Reagan signed a National Security Decision Directive which gave the FBI the responsibility of investigating terrorism in the U.S. In 1986 the Omnibus Diplomatic Security and Antiterrorism Act gave the FBI jurisdiction to investigate terrorist acts against Americans overseas. In 1995 President Clinton signed Presidential Decision Directive 39, entitled U.S. Policy on Counterterrorism. This directive further articulated and defined the roles of members of the Counter terrorism community, including the FBI. (FBI Web Site)

In the last few years the FBI has spent millions of dollars and man hours outfitting and training for terrorist incidents. The Justice Department only received 6.7 percent of the total federal government spending on terrorism related programs and activities in fiscal year 1997. In comparison the Defense, Energy, and Treasury departments were the big winners with 54.8 percent, 21.2 percent, and 10.2 percent respectively. The Justice department received 332 million dollars for terrorism related programs in 1996 with 287 million going to the FBI. In 1994 the FBI's terrorism budget was 80 million dollars, in

1998 it was 400 million dollars. (Barry, Russell, 1998) In 1996 the Defense Department received 3, 244.2 million dollars for terrorism, and the Energy Department received 1,324.7 million dollars; 1997, 1998, and 1999 figures were not available. (Combating Terrorism, 1998)

Public Safety Concerns

Societies can be seen as hypocritical in the ways they combat this problem. In many cases governments employ the same tactics as the terrorists they are combating. The government of the day determines what is considered criminal, and drafts laws which condone their actions, and punish the actions of the terrorists. Terrorists feel the acts they commit must be more violent than the government's actions toward them. In the battle between terrorists and the government violence begets violence.

As this concept of terrorism emerges so does the need for closer cooperation between civilian and military agencies. Greater collaboration between police, fire, EMS, and military agencies could prove necessary in combating this type of terrorism. This is not an advocacy of greater military involvement in civilian law enforcement. Only the necessary overlapping required to combat a significant terrorist attack on America's home front. (Staten, 1998) Through several highly publicized incidents, terrorists have proven that they can attack anywhere and at anytime. No segment of American society is beyond their reach. Americans use to believe that terrorism was something that happened to someone else. It did not happen in their backyard.

America is the only global superpower and the most technologically advanced

nation. Americans take these facts for granted and fails to appreciate the superiority they possess. Other nations view the U.S. as attempting to export their advances around the globe and are resentful toward them. Terrorists have begun to use these advances against the U.S. Terrorists use technology against technology. Technology terrorists prey on America's obsession to computerize and connect government, military, business, and personal computer systems together. (Staten, 1991) The Justice, Defense, and State departments have spent billions of dollars to computerize their files and have spent millions more to install safeguards to protect their files against hackers. Despite all of these advances, there is an increased vulnerability to attacks by terrorists and criminal hackers. The President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection noted that all it takes is a personal computer with internet capabilities and from anywhere in the world a hacker can wreak havoc with our computer networks. (Staten, 1991)

To meet the challenges of defending America's critical national infrastructures President Clinton in May 1998 signed Presidential Decision Directive 63 (PDD 63), which formally established the National Infrastructure Protection Center (NIPC). The NIPC functions as an interagency warning and response center located at FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. Its mission is to detect, deter, and respond to unlawful acts involving computer and information technologies and other threats to the U.S. infrastructures. These critical infrastructures include electric power, telecommunications, banking and finance, gas and oil, and transportation. While the threat of a conventional attack on the infrastructures has always been a possibility, electronic, information based attacks are the threat of the future. (FBI, Terrorism in the U.S. 1998, 1999)

While the government's computer systems are fairly secure, the commercial power companies who supply them with electricity are vulnerable. Destroying the power company's ability to produce power would have the same effect as shutting down the agency itself. Once the weakest link in the chain is broken, the chain can no longer function properly, and terrorists use technology to find the weakest link.

Society is becoming more and more technologically advanced, and through these advancements is becoming totally dependent upon technology. As society advances via technology so do terrorists. Terrorists use technology to increase their effectiveness. They capitalize on the fact that the world arena is reliant upon technology, technology they too possess. With modern sources of communication and information they are able to broadcast their ideologies to a larger segment of the world's population, thus generating a larger bed of support.

In order to do this they need an unrestrictive home field. Democratic nations provide this home field. As more nations convert to democracy terrorists have more options. Terrorism works best in a free society. The civil liberties that exist in a free society lend themselves to benefit terrorist activities. It allows them to operate openly and unmolested by law enforcement. As long as they do not violate the law they can generate as much support as they want prior to their attacks.

Conclusion

When an act of terrorism occurs it will be the affected communities responsibility to manage the incident. This may be difficult for some localities. The design of this

chapter was to show the reader that terrorism is not the responsibility of any one government agency, but instead everyone's responsibility. Any area of the country can be the site of a terrorist attack. Steps need to be taken to insure that when an attack occurs the effected community has the resources to manage the incident, and they know where to go for outside assistance. America's first responders face this difficult challenge. It will be their responsibility to safeguard the communities in which they live. This chapter detailed their tactics and their resources.

Terrorists use many of the same tools that law enforcement use, technology included. In some cases terrorists use our own technology against us. Their tactics were explored which gave the reader a look at how to best defeat terrorists before they strike. The ultimate use of technology would be terrorists using weapons of mass destruction. This is the future of terrorism. Chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons are now being discovered by terrorists. This destructive new wave of terrorism was detailed in order to present the reader with the full facts on the issue. The anti-terrorism community believes it is only a matter of time before a large scale attack occurs using one of these forms.

Weapons like these pose a significant danger to the population. As a result the federal government has numerous resources to call upon in the event of an attack. Many of these resources were discussed. These public safety concerns are real. So real that many communities have implemented programs to prepare for this inevitability. Until all terrorism is eliminated, the need for these resources are real.

Chapter 5: Policies and Programs

Overview

In order to launch a successful counter terrorism campaign government agencies from all levels must work together. Solving the problem of terrorism is not the job of any one agency or level of government. Because terrorism affects everyone, everyone must work toward a common solution. Following several devastating attacks the U.S. has seen the need to rally its resources to defeat terrorism. Several federal governmental agencies have taken the lead and implemented programs designed to combat this new threat.

This chapter will look at several programs that have been implemented to reduce the threat of terrorists attacks. These programs exist because the terrorism threat is real. The federal government along with state and local officials have established these programs in an effort too more effectively manage the inevitable, a large scale terrorist attack. These policies and programs have increased terrorism preparedness in many communities. The preparedness of these communities will be reviewed including a study of the preparedness in Bedford County Virginia.

It is the design of this chapter to review many of these programs. The policies that have been established are a large part of why these programs are needed. In the last few years the government's terrorism policies have changed. The federal government is now spending millions of dollars and man hours on terrorism preparedness. These programs are a result of this change in policy.

The Metropolitan Medical Response System

One of these programs is the Metropolitan Medical Response System (MMRS). Twenty-seven cities received federal money to create this system. MMRS helps train and equip the people who arrive at a terrorist incident. This system is not just for the first responders. It starts with the first responders, but it goes much further. It evolves the media and public education, not only for terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, but for any type of disaster. The more your community is prepared the better off it will be. (Bodrero, 1999) The system also requires that city, county, and state health departments be involved. All the hospitals in the area must be involved as well. The hospitals will be the hardest hit if a terrorist attack occurs. Statistics from the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing show that the EMS providers only saw twenty percent of the victims. The rest were self transported to area hospitals in the back of pickup trucks or in cars. These statistics hold true for other disasters, both man made and natural. (Nordberg, 2000)

Federal Government Agencies and their Programs

The federal government has numerous agencies posed to respond in the event of a terrorist attack. The FBI remains the lead law enforcement agency in investigating the attack. Their personnel will arrive on scene and coordinate the investigation. FEMA coordinates consequence management. In other words they are in charge of coordinating the search and rescue phase of the incident. The U.S. Department of Defense will provide specialized technical resources to assist with the detection and clean up of WMD. The

U.S. Department of Energy can provide technical and scientific assistance to locate hidden nuclear material, or to diagnose a suspected nuclear terrorist threat. They have a specialized team, NEST (Nuclear Emergency Search Team), which is called out whenever the threat of a nuclear device is suspected. If they find a device they have the capability to contain, disarm, or destroy it. The Public Health Service and the Centers for Disease Control will respond with personnel to assist with health concerns. (Carlson, 1999)

Another way the federal government combats terrorism is through the establishment of the Counterterrorism Center in 1996. Twenty-one federal agencies participate in the FBI Counterterrorism Center. The center uses various techniques to increase its ability to combat terrorism. These include multi-agency task forces. Ongoing liaison with all local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies attached to the center, and legal attache programs around the world. (Lewis, 1999)

The Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) is one of the FBI's most successful multi-jurisdictional Counter terrorism tools. It began in 1979 when the N.Y.P.D. used the help of the FBI to stop an overwhelming number of bank robberies. Today there are 16 JTTF throughout the country, which includes representatives from 140 federal, state, and local agencies. All participating agencies agree to respond and investigate terrorist incidents or related criminal activities. (Martin, 1999) The key to the success of the JTTF is that it provides a variety of personnel from various law enforcement agencies who are focused on a single task, combating terrorism. (Martin, 1999) The combining of local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies has allowed the task force to combine the skills of numerous agencies. It has allowed for the success of sophisticated investigations and

technological resources which would not be available to any one agency. (Martin, 1999)

The Domestic Preparedness Program is another way the federal government assists state and local agencies. This effort provides training from federal agencies to state and local emergency response personnel on how to deal with a terrorist incident. In the next five years the federal government will train emergency responders in more than 120 cities around the country. (Lewis, 1999)

The FBI during the Hoover administration developed a reputation of being an agency used by the government to spy on its citizens. Secret files were made on many of this country's most vocal opponents. Because of this the FBI and other agencies have been curtailed in their activities to investigate those who pose a threat to America. This is changing. Because of the increase in domestic terrorism congress and the president have eased some of these restrictions. Through several presidential directives and new congressional legislation, e.g., PDD-39, and the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Death Penalty Act, the government has more freedom to investigate terrorist activities.

While our first amendment rights must not be infringed upon, the protection of society from those who would exploit our freedoms must not be undermined. This can be done by further easing the restrictions on law enforcement. Communication among the thousand of police departments across the country is poor. A system should be developed that would allow all competing agencies to know about and work together on investigations involving domestic terrorist threats. Each state should establish a task force to combat militia activities. Many states are unable to effectively respond to a terrorist or militia threat. This state task force, similar to the Federal Joint Terrorist Task Force,

would alleviate this problem. It would be used to back up local agencies in the event of militia or paramilitary activity in their area.

The government is generally the target of most terrorist acts. Therefore, they should be the first line of defense. Government employees, not just law enforcement, should be educated about terrorist activities. They should be trained regarding their tactics and ideologies. They should know how to make themselves less of a target. It is important that they know how to look for suspicious packages, know how to respond to bomb threats, and be knowledgeable in emergency procedures.

Local Preparedness Studies: Bedford County

Local preparedness is the key too successfully resolving this ever growing problem. Every community must have a terrorism response plan and train along with those plans. Research was conducted in the Bedford County Virginia area to determine if the public safety providers in the area felt they were prepared to deal with a terrorist attack. A survey was sent to these providers, i.e., police, fire, and rescue. They were asked questions about their preparedness and the preparedness of other agencies. The findings suggest that overall the individual members feel they are prepared to deal with a terrorist attack. They admitted they are lacking in some areas but they believe that if an attack occurred in their area they could successfully handle the threat with the resources they have.

Other studies have shown that the responsibility of terrorism preparedness is shifting to the local government. Combating terrorism is not just the responsibility of the

federal government. It is the responsibility of every level of government, local, state, and federal. (Bodrero, 1999) Local public safety providers will be the first to arrive on the scene if a terrorist attack occurs. They will be solely responsible for handling the initial phase of the incident. (Commonwealth of Va.) These local public safety providers must realize that their preparedness is directly proportional to how well or how poorly they handle this awesome responsibility.

Other local governments are seeing the need for terrorist response agencies. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office has an Emergency Operations Bureau which has developed a disaster and emergency-terrorism response plan. The sheriff's office understands that Southern California is a lucrative region for terrorist organizations to raise funds. The area has many cultures and varied interests which lends it to terrorist activity. Terrorism is rare to the area but some attacks have occurred. The sheriff's office hopes the disaster and emergency-terrorism bureau will curb any future acts and effectively coordinate a response if an incident occurs. (L.A. County S.O.) In Virginia the VDEM is responsible for maintaining the State Terrorism Consequence Management Plan. These officials agree that Counterterrorism is not one government agency's responsibility. It is everyone's responsibility, and requires a multi-organizational, multi-jurisdictional response.

A study sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) confirmed this fact. Terrorist attacks on the scale of the World Trade Center (WTC) and Oklahoma City have focused attention on the local, state, and federal response to terrorism. As well as their prevention and preparedness efforts. The NIJ sponsored a two-year program to access

how state and municipalities have perceived the threat of terrorism, and to identify potentially promising anti/counter terrorism programs. The study revealed that local and state law enforcement agencies view the threat of terrorism as real, but how they respond to a terrorist incident varies by the size and resources of their department, and the nature of the threat in their community. (Hoffman, Riley, 1995).

The study confirmed that a variety of successful terrorism preparedness plans exist in communities both large and small. Generally, the larger the municipality the better they are prepared. The findings suggest that along with the nature of the possible attack and the number of people living in the jurisdiction, budgetary constraints influence the communities' ability to develop preparedness procedures. (Hoffman, Riley, 1995)

Following the attack on the WTC in 1993 most local and state public safety administrators viewed terrorism as an international threat. They did not believe that terrorists would or could strike targets in their jurisdiction. The 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City brought home the reality that terrorists could strike targets inside the United States. Following this incident perspectives concerning terrorism and the need to implement prevention and preparedness changed forever (Bodrero, 1999).

Containing the Right-Wing Movement

Anti-government extremists, or Patriots as they call themselves, pose a unique challenge to law enforcement and the government agencies that attempt to combat their activities. The Southern Poverty Law Center is the headquarters for a group that monitors Patriot terrorism. This group is called the Militia Task Force and is directed by Joe Roy.

The task force has set forth several recommendations which if implemented could curb anti-government extremist activity.

One of the most promising ways to curb this type of activity is by using existing laws to prosecute the Patriots. Many of these groups participate in militias or are involved in paramilitary training. Anti-militia laws are on the books in 24 states. These laws ban any training of a military nature by private groups. Anti-paramilitary laws ban any type of training that uses weapons or explosives that can be used to create social disorder.

Morris Dees, chief trial counsel for the Southern Poverty Law Center, says the laws work. The problem is that states are not enforcing them. Following the Oklahoma City bombing, Dees sent letters to the attorneys general in all 50 states urging them to enact these laws or enforce the ones they already have on the books. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000)

Many states have the ability to curb these groups but they refuse. What is needed is a federal statute that bans militia activity. This would only serve as a back up to state enforcement efforts. If the state refused to prosecute these groups they could be prosecuted on a federal level. The federal government currently has an anti-paramilitary statute (18 U.S. C 231-233). The problem with this statute is that it is very limited. It only allows for the prosecution of those who supervise the training and instruction. In order to prosecute it must be proven that the instructors knew their teachings would be used for criminal activity. Those who receive the training cannot be punished. This law should be broadened to cover these people as well. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000)

In 1998 the FBI prevented 15 planned acts of terrorism. Nine of the planned acts

were prevented by the arrest of six members of the white supremacist group The New Order, based in Illinois. The six planned to bomb the offices of the Anti-Defamation League, The Southern Poverty Law Center, FBI headquarters, along with IRS and other federal buildings. (FBI, Terrorism in the U.S. 1998, 1999)

In modern society the knowledge and materials needed to build weapons of mass destruction are not difficult to procure. There are numerous books and internet sites which give detailed instructions on anything from bombing making to the use of weapons of mass destruction. Any hardware or farm supply store has all the materials needed to build a bomb capable of killing hundreds of people.

The Militia Task Force does not think it should be this easy. They believe no ones first amendments rights should be trampled, but this information and materials should be closely regulated. There are three ways to do this. Potential bomb making material should be "tagged" with partials that will make their origins easy to trace, and possibly identify the purchaser. Secondly, many materials have dual uses. The bomb used in Oklahoma City was made of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil. Ammonium nitrate is a commonly used fertilizer, but if combined with fuel oil is highly explosive. The Militia Task Force proposes that other chemicals be added to these dual use chemicals to make them unusable to bomb makers. Finally, dangerous materials should only be sold to licensed persons and then only in limited quantities. (Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Task Force, 2000)

Another proposal evolves the military. Military personnel have access to many forms of weaponry, and are trained in tactics that are useful to militias. They want to help

prevent these weapons and training from trickling down to militias. It is proposed that the Department of Defense issue policies that forbid its personnel from participating in militia activities. It is also proposed that they strictly enforce these policies to the point of criminal prosecution. Law enforcement agencies should also impose similar policies. If the military, and law enforcement in particular, are going to effectively combat the spread of militia activity their ranks should be free of the very activities they are trying to prevent.

Programs and Policies to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction

Information on biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons is available on the internet and in many how-to books. Additionally, there are numerous countries who are hostile to the U.S. that have developed WMD. In June of 1996 the CIA and the Energy Department initiated a program to study the threat posed by terrorists using WMD. It contained experts from Lawrence Livermore laboratories, CIA, Energy Department, Defense Department, and the FBI. They concluded the U.S. was not prepared to respond to a terrorist attack where WMD were involved. Co-chair James Woolsey, former director of the CIA, said that of all the threats that would inflict damage to the U.S., terrorists using WMD is the one we are the least prepared for. (National Strategy)

Several large scale operations to defend against an attack of WMD have been undertaken, successfully. The 1996 Atlanta Olympics, soccer's World Cup in Chicago, and Texas are several examples, but there is no national strategy in place. The Livermore Study Group recommended a national program which can be integrated across the entire federal system to manage a WMD attack. Through this program an end to end systematic

strategy could be implemented that would incorporate all aspects of coordinating a local, state, and federal emergency response. It would provide better intelligence and warning through a better early detection system that would allow U.S. law enforcement agencies to respond quicker, and prepare prior to an attack. The group also stressed the need for intensified planning and preparation that would enable emergency response personnel to deal with the mass casualties associated with an attack of WMD agents. (National Strategy)

Colonel David Franz, head of the Army's germ research lab, believes that a major biological attack by terrorists is not only likely but will occur in the next five years. U.S. officials view germ and biological weapons as the greatest threat to the internal security of the nation. In reaction to this threat a Presidential directive, PDD-39, established by the Clinton administration has revolutionized the federal government's counterterrorism response. A terrorist attack requires a coordinated response of local, state, and federal public safety agencies. PDD-39 allows for this in many ways. It established a "Domestic Guideline" which serves to coordinate among the federal agencies who respond to a terrorist attack. It established a Domestic Emergency Support Team (DEST) which is deployed upon the request of the FBI in response to a significant threat or act of terrorism. These plans are shared with other local, state, and federal public safety personnel to ensure a unified approach to the on-scene management of the crisis. (Blitzer, 1999)

Dr. Michael Osterholm director of the Minnesota Department of Public Health, a leading terrorist expert, says that the U.S. is woefully unprepared for a biological attack.

In drills conducted around the country police, fire, and EMS workers were unprepared to handle a terrorist attack. Emergency planners discovered that most civilian emergency services agencies, including specialized hazardous materials units, did not have the proper training or equipment to identify and contain the sophisticated types of CBWs which have the greatest terrorist potential. (Staten, 1991) Emergency room workers such as doctors and nurses would also be killed due to lack of training. With these essential providers dead there would be no one available to help the thousands of people affected by the attack. New York City is the exception. Following the World Trade Center bombing the office of emergency services provided these health care providers with the information and equipment needed to identify and combat a CBWs attack. (Germ Warfare, ABC News 1998)

There is a lot of talk about hospitals being included in the terrorism preparedness plan. If EMS are the first responders then hospitals are the second responders. The area hospitals surrounding the site of a terrorist attack are going to be the dumping points for all of the victims, and the emergency department of that hospital is going to be the front door. These providers must be incorporated in any terrorism plan. If a biological or chemical attack occurs, it will most likely be emergency room personnel who first diagnoses the type of toxin used. There is no doubt that many hospitals are well prepared to handle such an attack, but there are many others who are not.

A preparedness test was recently undertaken in Pittsburgh. Michael Allswede, MD., clinical associate professor at Allegheny General Hospital, an expert in biological and chemical weapons, created a hypothetical outbreak of smallpox. He created a

scenario where smallpox was brought into the country by a college student who was a member of a terrorist organization. Allswede then challenged 17 doctors in local hospitals to identify and treat the imaginary infected patients. (Nordberg, 2000)

Any airborne communicable viral disease could have been used, anthrax, sarin gas, etc. Since there are no biological weapon detectors routinely places in hospitals or in the EMS community, we rely on ED physicians to determine the toxin. Of the group of 17 doctors, seven were ED physicians, eight were in-practice practitioners, and two were infectious disease specialists. Only one of the seventeen was able to identify smallpox from the pictures shown. The one who correctly identified the disease as smallpox was an infectious disease specialists who worked in India during the 1970's and saw smallpox first hand. (Nordberg, 2000)

In the best case scenario Allswede's smallpox infected patients would have infected 1,200 Pittsburgh residents, not to mention the hundreds of others who traveled to other areas of the country following their initial exposure and infected others. Dr. Allswede picked smallpox because as late as the 1930s the smallpox epidemics killed as many as 50,000 a year in this country. Prior to Edward Jenner's compound vaccination smallpox killed 400,000 people a year in Europe. The smallpox disease is the number one killer of all time. (Nordberg, 2000)

Even if an infectious disease is recognized quickly, it may not be treated quickly. Most hospitals only have a 2 or 3 day supply of antibiotics and other medication on hand. They rely on contracted suppliers to supply them when their supply gets low. Most suppliers say they cannot resupply a hospital with even a small amount of medication in

less than 24 hours. If you need hard to get medication like atropine to fight anthrax, or the smallpox vaccine, your local hospital is not going to have enough to deal with a few dozen cases, let alone a few thousand. (Nordberg, 2000)

Combating this problem requires the cooperation of people who normally do not speak to each other. Emergency room physicians, pathologists, and infectious disease specialists need to sit down and implement a preparedness plan. They then need to talk to law enforcement and those in the EMS community and the fire services. Dr. Allswede said that if he needed to speak to someone in the mayor's office about a real smallpox outbreak he would have had no idea who to call because his department had never interacted with the mayor's office before. No one agency is responsible for combating terrorism. It is a group effort. (Nordberg, 2000)

Technological Counter Terrorism

There must be a marriage of technology and policy to effectively counter this threat. One such advance is the Wide-Area Tracking System (WATS). This device can detect and track a ground delivered nuclear device in a large urban setting. The Joint Biological Remote Early Warning System (JBREWS) is capable of alerting authorities in the event terrorists attack with biological weapons. Sensors for these two systems can be permanently deployed or mounted in mobile vehicles. These technologies and policies can contribute to meeting the challenge of countering the threat posed by WMD terrorism. (National Strategy)

America has typically combated terrorism the same way it combats local crime,

reactively. Starting in the 1980s the U.S. initiated a campaign and spent billions of dollars to harden U.S. targets abroad. American landmarks around the world were made more secure. While billions were spent on the latest security measures very little was spent on proactive measures. Intelligence gathering measures to predict the behavioral patterns of terrorists are limited. Efforts to identify and exterminate potential terrorists organizations were all but ignored. The FBI is attempting to even the field by establishing informational centers that track and supply information on suspected terrorist actors. They recently set up a state of the art on-line computer database known as the Terrorist Information System (TIS). This database contains information on suspected terrorist groups and individual terrorists. The database has information on more than 200,000 individuals and more than 3,000 organizations. The database contains information on suspected associates, contacts, victims, and witnesses. TIS allows the FBI to retrieve information and to link organizations with activities. (Center for National Security Studies)

Legislative Anti-Terrorism Policies

In 1996 Congress passed the Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction Act, commonly known as the Nunn-Lugar-Domenici act. The act authorized the Department of Defense to conduct training, exercises, and advise local emergency response personnel. The Domestic Preparedness Program selected 120 cities based on their population size for the program. The number of cities in the program has grown to approximately 150 cities nationwide. (Skinner, 2000)

Terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction pose a genuine threat to the

United States, and there is too much ambiguity about who would be in charge if an attack occurred. This is the opinion of an 18-member commission led by Virginia Gov. Jim Gilmore. The commission was established to assess the nation's vulnerability to terrorist attacks, and advise Congress and the administration on their findings. It was made up of retired senior military officers, medical officials, emergency planners, and intelligence experts. (Washington Post, 1999)

The commission said terrorists armed with ever changing technology could strike virtually at will against federal, state and local governments who in many cases fail to communicate with each other. They believe the U.S. is fundamentally incapable of responding effectively to a serious attack because of the nation's inability to develop and implement a clear comprehensive national terrorism preparedness strategy. A major change is needed at all levels of government that will allow the free exchange of information between the agencies tasked with combating terrorism. (Washington Post, 1999)

We as a nation have seen in several disastrous events that terrorists are in possession of weapons that can kill large numbers of people and instill fear in an entire nation. The commission blames the inability to thwart these actions on the problems in the exchange of information between the federal government and state and local officials. The commission to a small extent was developed out of frustration at the state and local level over the federal government's refusal to share critical information about possible terrorists threats.

Overall the commission was very critical of the federal government's refusal to

develop a clear comprehensive terrorist preparedness plan, and its refusal to share information with state and local officials. Despite these problems the commission did convey some good news. They believe that even if a catastrophic domestic terrorist attack occurred, it is very unlikely that the attack would completely undermine the nation's security and would not threaten the future of the United States. (Washington Post, 1999)

The federal government recognizes the need for anti-terrorism programs. They have been very aggressive in preparing cities to deal with a terrorist attack. These cities further benefit from the fact that the federal government recognizes the need to let the cities decide for themselves the best way to prepare for the attack rather than force them to conform to federal standards.

In October of last year President Clinton signed into law a bill that would allow American victims of terrorism to be compensated. The law allows these victims to be paid out of the U.S. Treasury, and to recoup the money from alleged terrorists states later. Already \$213 million has been given to eight families who have won lawsuits against terrorists states. Courts awarded the damages after a 1996 law was passed that allows American victims to sue countries who sponsor terrorists. The terrorists states that can be sued are Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. (Jelinek, 2000)

These programs and recommendations have undoubtedly gone a long way in reducing terrorist attacks in the U.S. Governments and communities have realized that any area can be targeted, and they have worked together to safeguard themselves. No program is one hundred percent effective. There will always be a few attacks, but they do not have to come easy for the terrorists.

If anything was learned from the report let it be the fact that a terrorist attack can occur in any community, and that ultimately the success or failure of combating the attack relies with the effectiveness of the local response. It is their responsibility to train and prepare to safeguard the communities in which they live.

Conclusion

There are numerous programs in place to combat terrorism. These programs are the result of policies designed to promote terrorism preparedness in every community. Any community can be the target of a terrorist attack, and therefore every community must prepare for the management of an attack. All of the policies and programs detailed in this chapter are designed to do just that.

The federal government has spent a great deal of money and man hours to ensure these programs are available to the communities that most need them. Policies and programs are not enough. The individual communities must take advantage of them in order to reap the benefits. One section of this chapter looked at terrorism preparedness on a local government level. Several studies were reviewed and showed that terrorism preparedness was dependent of multiple factors in the community. These factors determined how prepared the communities were. The study in Bedford County showed that the public safety providers felt prepared to manage a terrorist attack. This was the general theme of the other communities in the previous studies.

Terrorism preparedness not a singular operation, it requires assistance from many agencies. The policies and programs discussed are in place to provide communities with

the best possible resources available. Through trial and error these programs have proven successful. Through continued cooperation they will only improve.

Final Thoughts

As long as certain members of society feel alienated from the legitimate means of affecting change, acts of terrorism will result. America's public safety providers are the only thing that stands between the terrorists and their victims. It is their responsibility to protect local communities from this threat. Over the years these providers, and society as a whole, has come to realize that an attack can occur anywhere.

In order to combat against this threat all levels of government must work together. Terrorism preparedness requires a multi-jurisdictional, multi-agency response. In the last decade terrorism preparedness has become a top priority. Millions of dollars and man hours have been spent to reduce America's vulnerability. And there is much more work to be done.

It was the design of this thesis to detail the extent of the difficulties faced in combating terrorism. In order to do this a study of terrorism, its definitions, and causes had to be undertaken. It is the author's hope that at the conclusion of this thesis the reader will have a better understanding of the difficulties surrounding terrorism preparedness, and appreciate the efforts of America's public safety providers.

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Apendix:

Survey of Terrorism Preparedness

This is a survey of police and fire/EMS personal. The survey is designed to determine if you feel your agency is prepared to successfully deal with a terrorist attack. Only a small number of surveys have been sent out, so every survey is important.

This questionnaire should be filled out anonymously. Participation in this survey is voluntary. You may stop taking the survey at any time. Your name and the name of your agency should not be put on the questionnaire. Please fill the questionnaires out as completely as possible. If you feel a question does not pertain to you or your agency, leave it blank. Thank you in advance for your participation.

Terrorism is defined as the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in the furtherance of political or social objectives. - U.S. Justice Department

1) Which type of agency do you belong to: (If you are a member of more than one agency complete the survey with one agency in mind) Circle the number of your response

Fire/EMS
1

Police
2

2) Do you feel your agency could successfully deal with a terrorist incident?

not at all somewhat probably definitely
1 2 3 4

3) Do you feel your agency has the proper equipment to deal with a terrorist incident?

not at all somewhat probably definitely
1 2 3 4

4) Do you feel your agency has the proper training to deal with a terrorist incident?

not at all somewhat probably definitely
1 2 3 4

5) How much terrorism preparation training have you had?

none a little a fair amount a lot of training
1 2 3 4

Please list any terrorism training you have had: _____

6) How prepared do you think the other emergency services agencies are in you area?

none	a little	a fair amount	well prepared
1	2	3	4

7) Which agency should be primarily responsible for dealing with a terrorist incident?

police	fire	EMS	other (list) _____
1	2	3	4

8) Which level of government should be primarily responsible for dealing with a terrorist incident?

local government	state government	federal government
1	2	3

9) Which level of government is the best prepared to deal with a terrorist incident?

local government	state government	federal government
1	2	3

The federal government, and its resources, have a minimum response time of 18 hours to a major terrorist incident, and even longer to a minor one. The initial phase of a terrorist incident is solely the responsibility of local authorities. -FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, March 1999

With this statement in mind please answer the following.

10) Which level of government should be responsible for dealing with a terrorist incident?

local government	state government	federal government
1	2	3

11) Does your agency have the resources to handle the initial phase of a terrorist incident?

none	a little	a fair amount	well prepared
1	2	3	4

12) How important are the following areas in dealing with a terrorist incident?

	not important	a little important	some what important	very important
Training:	1	2	3	4
Personal:	1	2	3	4
Equipment:	1	2	3	4

13) To the best of your knowledge has your agency ever prepared itself for a terrorist incident? (If no skip to question 15)

yes	no
1	2

14) How has your agency prepared itself? none a little a fair amount well prepared

Training:	1	2	3	4
Equipment:	1	2	3	4
Written procedures:	1	2	3	4
Joint training with other agencies:	1	2	3	4
Consulted state or federal agencies:	1	2	3	4
Discussed the matter with members:	1	2	3	4
Established links with other agencies:	1	2	3	4

The bombing of the World Trade center in New York in 1993 proved that terrorists could strike on American soil. The bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City proved that terrorists could strike any community in America. -FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, March 1999

With this statement in mind answer the following :

15) What are the most likely targets of terrorism?

rural areas	small/medium urban areas	large cities
1	2	3

16) Do you think it is possible terrorists could strike in your community?

could not happen	it is possible	highly likely	could happen
1	2	3	4

Many terrorist experts believe that a terrorist incident is nothing more than a hazardous materials incident on a larger scale.

With this statement in mind answer the following:

17) Do you feel your agency could successfully deal with a hazardous materials incident?

not at all	somewhat	probably	definitely
1	2	3	4

18) Do you feel your agency has the proper equipment to deal with a hazardous materials incident?

not at all	somewhat	probably	definitely
1	2	3	4

19) How much hazardous materials training have you had?

none	a little	a fair amount	a lot of training
1	2	3	4

Please list any hazardous materials training you have had: _____

20) Do you think the other agencies in your area could successfully deal with a hazardous materials incident?

not at all	somewhat	probably	definitely
1	2	3	4

21) If you viewed a terrorist incident as a hazardous materials incident on a larger scale could your agency successfully deal with the incident?

not at all	somewhat	probably	definitely
1	2	3	4

This survey is now complete, thank you for your time.